THE JOURNAL OF ELIZABETH LADY HOLLAND



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THE JOURNAL

OF

ELIZABETH LADY HOLLAND

(1791–1811)



F. H. Fabre, pinx. Emery Walker Jr. sc

Henry Richard, third Lord Holland
1796

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(1791–1811)

EDITED BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES

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JOURNAL OF ELIZABETH LADY HOLLAND

26th July, 1799.—Left H. H. this morning to make a tour into Wales and the west of England. Ld. H. went to dine at St. Anne's, and Drew, Charles, and myself came to this place (General Fitzpatrick's, Sunninghill) to meet him. On Saturday, ye 27th, we arrived to dinner at Oxford. Close by the General's, upon Ascot Heath, there is a camp. The cavalry were watered whilst we went on the road, a pretty incident; their brilliant coats contrasted with the dusky brown of the heath, and produced a very lively effect. A cross road to Henley; just as we entered the town we passed under Park Place, a late purchase of Ld. Malmesbury's. Somewhere near Henley is the highest ground south of Trent. On ye 28th went from Oxford, by Chapel House, to Warwick. I could not help laughing at the *event* of our going, because the subject of seeing the Castle without being obliged by urgent solicitations to make a long visit there (as Ld. H. was sure we should be very much pressed) had occupied his thoughts for many hours. Ld. H. had written letters to Ly. W. and Mrs. Smith, so calculated as to make a refusal of the pressing invitations (which he dreaded having) quite civil; but we need not have been embarrassed. So far from being solicited to stay, the whole family flew to their fortresses in some battlemented towers, gave out

that they were walking, and shunned us. It was a most fortunate escape to me, tho' I believe Ld. H. was vexed at the impertinence of the proceeding. The Castle is magnificent, decorated with ornaments appropriate to the building, and in the very best taste possible. His taste in virtu is better than in breeding, as he manifested a gross deficiency of that quality to us.

From thence we went across a very moderate road to Kenilworth ; by the remains of the castle it appears to have far exceeded Warwick in splendour and extent.

On ye 29th we went through Birmingham. Having seen it last year we did not stop, but went straight on to the Leasowes, a spot rendered celebrated by Shenstone; it is very unworthy of the praise he bestowed upon it, and is now fallen into decay. About three miles further is Hagley ; the park is very beautiful, the house simple. The comfortless taste prevalent in England of placing the house in a lawn where sheep and cattle feed close to the windows, instead of ornamental gardens, gives rather a disconsolate appearance to it ; otherwise it is almost as desirable as a country residence (a bad thing at best) can be. It was built by the *good* Ld. Lyttelton,[1] as he is generally called to distinguish him from his son, who, in contradistinction, is termed the *bad*. His much-loved wife, whom he celebrates under the name of Lucy, is buried in the church. It destroys the pathos excited by his elegy, if one recollects that within two years of her death he married a fat, vulgar, rich widow, for her wealth.

[1] Sir George Lyttelton (1709–1773), created Baron Lyttelton in 1756. He married, first, in 1742, Lucy, daughter of Hugh Fortescue, Esq., of Filleigh, co. Devon ; and secondly, in 1749, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Rich, Bart. His son, Thomas, born in 1744, succeeded his father, but died without issue in 1779, when the peerage expired. It was, however, re-created in 1794 in favour of a cousin, from whom the present owner of Hagley, Viscount Cobham, is directly descended.

Went thro' Bridgenorth, situated picturesquely upon the Severn, which, by-the-bye, is a yellow, muddy stream flowing with some rapidity, its only beauty. From thence we went to Coalbrookdale to sleep. There is the first iron bridge that was constructed; it is more curious from its novelty and use than beautiful. I deprecate their becoming general, as they are far inferior in point of beauty to those of stone; the dull black of the iron assorts ill with limpid streams and verdant banks, whereas on the contrary nothing can offer a more beautiful object than a stone bridge of well-turned arches. The inhabitants are chiefly quakers. During the American war they were offered a high gratification if they would cast cannon; they replied that they worked for the benefit of mankind, and not for their destruction, and peremptorily refused. It is an increasing place.

On Tuesday, 30th, got to Shrewsbury, a place for ever distinguished by the fall of the gallant Percy. One of the most admirable of Shakespeare's plays commemorates this event. What can be better than the scene between the Triumvirate partitioning out the spoils of Britain, the impetuosity of Hotspur, and the arrogant credulity of Glendower? The crafty Worcester is a well-drawn character.

Passing Llanrwst, Conway, and Bangor they reached Carnarvon on August 3rd.

4th August. Sunday.—We left Carnarvon to go to Welsh Pool. From that place to Tan y Bwlch the road is over a high mountain. Snowdon in sight to our left.

Before Tan y Bwlch we came to Pont y Aberglassen, a remarkable salmon leap; Ld. H. screamed with delight at the sight of the salmons leaping up. It is a pretty sight. Myself, I could have looked at them with delight for an hour or two. At Tan y Bwlch, a small

solitary inn, we found every room occupied. The Judges were there. The civility of some gentlemen enabled us to be under cover in a decent room whilst we dined, but the house was so full that we were compelled to go on nineteen miles at half-past seven, a mountainous road and a stormy night, to Dolgelly; I wonder how we achieved it amidst the torrents and precipices safely. The weather was so bad the next day that we saw nothing.

6th August.—This morning, set off from M——; such a deluge of rain that we saw nothing to our right or left. To-night we are at Welsh Pool, so disgusted with the roads and climate that we have some thoughts of giving up doing Aberystwith. The beauties of Wales are very inferior both to those of Scotland and Cumberland. The mts. are not so lofty, the torrents are small and noiseless, no cascades: in short, the old castles are alone worthy of notice. The country generally is thinly inhabited; the postillions are chiefly boys, their men being either in the army or employed in the navy. The Evil visibly afflicts a large portion of the people.

On ye 7th of August we had a day very unusual; it did not rain. We drove to Powys Castle, which is about a mile from Welsh Pool. It is finely situated upon an eminence that commands the country around; the place is neglected and the house is rambling and comfortless. In the park is a fathomless pool, which gives name to the adjacent town. We were obliged to stay the whole of the 7th, as horses were not to be had. In the eve. Ld. H. and I had a very snug walk again to the castle.

On the 8th we set off for Aberystwith, and as the same horses were to carry us great part of the way we stopped to dine at Newtown, the road to which was extremely

pleasing. Round hills covered to their summits with thick wood, and a verdant vale with pretty rivers and cattle grazing; it might have made a good study for quiet home views. We crossed a rapid river without a bridge.

Tuesday, 13*th*.—Left Aberystwith. We intended originally to have gone to Cardigan, Haverfordwest, etc., but the judges were upon that circuit, the roads bad, and the weather wretched. On that night we slept at Lampeter, close upon a rapid river in which Ld. H. fished. The eve. was tolerably fine. Drew and I walked about the environs.

14*th*.—It had rained all night, and the rivers were so swelled that they were deep to pass through; we went thro' several and arrived at Carmarthen to dine. Very heavy rain the whole day. Poor little Charles was unwell, and we decided upon giving up Tenby.

On 15th heavy rain. After crossing ye Towy we looked back upon the town, which appeared prettily situated, but the weather was so bad it was impossible to see any object. The inhabitants were not surprised at the infamy of the weather; they said it was nothing unusual.

Finding no horses at Neath, we were compelled to remain. We walked to see the ruins of a small castle; the castle is not remarkable except for the beauty of its situation, and probably was raised by some of those Norman Barons who followed the fortunes of Fitzhamon, the conqueror of Glamorganshire. The inn is kept by an Italian, who, tho' he left the happy climate in which he was born at nine years old, yet retains enough of national *tournure* to be known amongst a multitude of red-faced ale-drinkers as an alien. There is an archness, not to say roguery, which, such as it is, is a thousand times better than the stupidity and sulkiness and

dubious honesty of the British countenance in common life.

On ye 17th we passed thro' Margam, a possession of Mr. Talbot's. There in his park are the beautiful remains of the Priory, about which I must look in Grove and Camden. He pulled down the mansion, but has built a magnificent greenhouse for the preservation of some orange-trees which belonged to William III.[1] The architecture is Grecian, which, close to a fine Gothic edifice, denotes more his adherence to the fashion of the times than his judgment in conceiving an appropriate decoration, as the two styles clash and diminish the beauty of both. Not that I am an enthusiastic admirer of Grecian architecture in any way but in a temple. There, indeed, the fine column, its slim shaft, rich architrave, cornice, and volute, surmounted with a graceful pediment, create a species of beauty which no other can. Indeed the circular arch, as in the Pont de Garde, where they form a bridge and acqueduct by several tiers one above the other, is very grand; otherwise, in vast works, I like the Gothic architecture, which, to use an affected phrase, is more *impressive* in lofty structures. Mr. Talbot married a cousin of Ld. H.'s, a daughter of Lord Ilchester's.[2] It was a strange match, she about sixteen, he sixty; as yet, however, the disproportion has not

[1] These trees were sent as a present to Queen Mary by a Dutch merchant. The vessel in which they were placed was wrecked, and its contents were claimed by the Lord of the Manor, the owner of Margam. He afterwards offered to restore them, but was given them as a present by the King.

[2] Thomas Mansel Talbot married, in 1794, Lady Mary Lucy Fox-Strangways, second daughter of Henry Thomas, second Earl of Ilchester, and his first wife Mary Theresa, daughter of Standish O'Grady, Esq. After Mr. Talbot's death Lady Mary married, in 1815, Sir Christopher Cole. She died in 1855. Margam belonged originally to the Mansel family, and came to the Talbots by marriage. The female line of the Mansels became extinct in 1750.

affected their felicity. They live happily; a good deal in the country.

Arrived at Cardiff after dark. Received a note from Ly. Plymouth[1] to tell me she was there; came the next morning, 18th, to breakfast. She is scampering upon a blood horse, followed by an attorney, over her son's estates, settling his affairs. She complains of having found everybody formerly employed rogues, from whence one may presume she has fallen into the hands of some very great one. The Castle is very handsome; in the area Ld. Bute has built a modern castellated house, preserving in the centre one or two of the old towers.

19*th*.—Fortunately, a fine day. Dear Charles was so unwell that Drew wished him to have a day's rest. Went over a very rough road to Tintern Abbey, a delicious ruin, situated upon the banks of the Wye. The church is almost entire; all the external walls are up and one of the side aisles; roof off, of course. The architecture is not so light and pleasing as Fountains Abbey, and of the monastery there are scarcely any remains. They show a tomb and effigy of a warrior whom they call Strongbow, Earl of Clare, who married Eva, the daughter of an Irish King, and became himself King of Leinster, and obtained for Henry II. the sovereignty of Ireland. In the eve. we had a charming walk upon the Wye and saw the castle, a fine ruin, celebrated for holding out against Cromwell, defended by Kemyss and Morgan. The former was cut to pieces in the inner court. Upon the Restoration one of the regicides was confined for 25 years in a chamber we saw. Southey wrote some pretty lines enough on him.

The party reached Ross on the 20th, having come through Chepstow and Monmouth.

[1] Lord Plymouth died the preceding June, and their son, Other Archer, who succeeded as sixth Earl, was at this time a boy of ten.

21*st*.—Went to the churchyard, from whence there is a celebrated view, which, however, I think little of; the walk in it is shady and pretty. 21st, came through Hereford to Foxley. At Hereford D. of Norfolk insisted upon our giving him one day. 22nd, 23rd, stayed at Foxley. The General was there. 24th, went to Ld. Oxford's [1] at Eywood. Charles unwell, and left at Foxley with Drew. 25th, stayed at Eywood. 26th, I returned alone to see Charles, and joined the whole party at Downton Castle, Mr. Knight's,[2] in the eve. late. 27th, returned to Foxley. 28th, came to this place, Holme Court, the D. of Norfolk's. Stayed yesterday, and go away to-day, 30th.

Ly. O. has lost her vivacity and beauty. She is in a deplorable state of spirits, proceeding, I fancy, from an enthusiastic, romantic admiration of Sr. Francis's ideal perfections. She fancies herself a victim of sensibility, and is really so drooping that I should scarcely be surprised if she perished from imagining grief. Mr. Knight encourages her in those *bursts* of sensibility; he compares her tears to April showers that sprinkle and revive the freshness of the violet. Be the cause what it may, her beauty is impaired; her eyes, which were always full and prominent, now from thinness start out. It is also

[1] Edward, fifth Earl of Oxford of that creation (1773–1848), who succeeded his cousin in 1790. He married, in 1794, Jane Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. James Scott, rector of Itchen, Hants. She died in 1824, at the age of fifty-one. Their eldest son, born in 1800, was drowned in a shipwreck off Jersey in 1828, and the peerage became extinct after their second son's death. He succeeded his father in 1848.

[2] Richard Payne Knight (1750–1824), son of Rev. Thomas Knight, Rector of Bewdley, Worcestershire. He inherited Downton Castle from his grandfather, Richard Knight, about 1764, but spent many years in Italy, where he laid the foundations of his collection of coins, bronzes, and marbles. These he left at his death to the British Museum. He sat in the House of Commons from 1780 until 1806, and was looked upon as a recognised authority on the customs and arts of ancient times.

probable that her languor may arise from having lost the relish which the novelty gave of being a great lady. She appears from an affectation of *naïveté* weaker than she is; in a whining, monotonous, childish tone she uses fine phrases for common conversation. She said to Ld. H. upon the Slave Trade, 'I am always for justice and humanity, ar'n't you?' And to the General: 'In case of a revolution, you, of course, would take the side of the people against the King, would not you?' The house is comfortable, and they live with a degree of splendour they are unequal to, as he has ruined himself by his ostentation and her total ignorance of the value of money.

Mr. Knight wrote a famous work upon the traces still to be found in Italy of a primitive worship. He has assembled a large collection of these symbols in bronze, marble, etc. He is a passionate admirer of the ancients, and studies in nature antique forms and contours. Ly. Hamilton was his favourite; she absent, the admiration is transferred to Ly. O. He is a middle-aged man, and has a large fortune. His pursuits are classical even to pedantry. He has made a good house and fine grounds, and lives with a degree of luxurious *recherche*.

The Duke of Norfolk[1] is an extraordinary instance of the impossibility of *situation* being sufficient to secure happiness: he, however, finds in his own good temper an antidote to all the vexations of his life. He has all

[1] Charles, eleventh Duke of Norfolk (1746–1815), who succeeded his father in 1786. He married, first, in 1767, Marian, daughter of John Coppinger, Esq. She died the following year, and, in 1771, he married Frances, only child of Charles Fitzroy Scudamore, of Holme Lacy, co. Hereford. On the Duke's death in 1815 he was succeeded by his cousin. When the Duchess died in 1820, her property devolved on the heirs-at-law of her grandfather, the descendants of his sister Mary, wife of Sir Giles Brydges. The Duke was a firm supporter of the Whigs, and was dismissed by George III. from the Lord-Lieutenancy of Sussex in 1798, for an injudicious speech. See *ante*, i. 177.

that rank, dignity, and wealth can give; he married a beautiful woman whose person he liked, possessed of 15,000*l* pr. anm. About eight years after she became mad, and from being intestate her immense possessions escheat to the Crown, there being no male heir to the Scudamores. It appears to be a hardship that the laws afford no relief to a person united to one insane, as no pretext can be more valid towards the dissolution of a marriage than an obstacle of that nature that impedes the fulfilling of every function belonging to the institution. He maintains with solid magnificence the splendour of his rank; everything about him bespeaks wealth and luxurious comfort. His servants are old domestics, fat, sleek, and happy; his table is profuse and exquisite. His taste is bad; he loves society, but has no selection, and swallows wine for quantity, not quality: he is gross in everything. The Dss.'s madness has taken a sombre, *farouche* turn; she hates all mankind. The clergyman during a lucid interval advised her to read religious books, supplied her with some, and mingled his advice with pious exhortations. She acquiesced, and took the books. A few days after she returned them with scorn, saying, 'I wish I could believe your d——d trumpery, as I should then be certain two-thirds of mankind would roast in H——!' It was curious that in the Gospels she could find matter to gratify her malignity. The Duke behaves uncommonly well to her.

Mrs. Clive, Ly. Plymouth's sister, went there to meet me. She is a shrewd, sensible woman. Her husband is a Jacobin of the worst sort, envy actuating all his equalising principles.[1] Wm. Scott, Ly. O.'s brother, another

[1] Edward Bolton Clive, a connection of Lord Clive, and sometime M.P. for Hereford. He was eldest son of George Clive and Sydney, daughter of Thomas Bolton, Esq. He married, in 1790, Harriet, daughter of Andrew, second Lord Archer.

Jacobin, was there: he is merry and good-humoured, and tho' a zealous disciple of Horne Tooke's a few good briefs to get him a *pied à terre* will cure him of his democracy. I knew him many years ago at Nice. Capt. Morris,[1] the famous singer of his own witty songs, entertained us with some of them; he is drunken and dull, and since the death of a favourite son, has renounced singing any of his *light* songs. He made a superstitious vow to God Almighty that he would not.

We slept at Gloucester on the 30th. On ye 31st passed through pretty Rodborough Vale, and Badminton Park, not a fine place, tho' large, and arrived here, Bowood, 31st August, Saturday. Found Ld. Lansdown in high good humour and cordiality with me, and in very good health and spirits. The Smiths were just come from Warwick. Mr. Dumont is here, and two or three other indifferent people. Poor old Ingenhousz is dying rapidly. He is shrunk to a skeleton. Ld. L. with great humanity and feeling affords him an asylum, which his other friends were averse to, as the beholding of a dying man is a painful spectacle. He talks with intrepidity of death, but, *hélas*! where can the courage come from? The subject is a painful one.

Dumont and I walked every morning, that is to say, the three I stayed, in ye garden: his conversation is always amusing and instructive. We talked over books that we each liked, especially Bonnet's beautiful work, *Contemplation de la nature*, which contains many interesting expositions of the wonderful economy of

[1] Captain Charles Morris was born in 1745. He entered the cavalry and exchanged into the Life Guards. He was an intimate associate of the Whigs, and many of his songs were directed against their political opponents. A constant guest at Carlton House, he was subsequently given a pension by the Prince of Wales, and lived for many years near Dorking previous to his death in 1838, in his ninety-third year.

nature in the structure of plants and animals. Had he not too frequently allowed his imagination to run off with him when he turns to the attributes of the divinity, he would tire less, but his apostrophes which aim at sublimity are generally incomprehensible and bombast.

Whilst I have been travelling I have not been idle in the way of reading; we have read already ye first seven volumes of Henry's *History of England.* It is written upon a more extensive plan than that suggested by Voltaire and partly adopted by Hume.

Of public affairs the changes have been so varied and rapid that it is difficult to recollect the exact position of things. Bonaparte was repulsed from before Acre, and obliged to return with a diminished and dispirited army into Egypt. The circumstance the most humiliating is that his great name should be coupled with that of the bullying bluster of that charlatan, Sr. Sidney Smith, who has obtained the command of some marines and gunboats against him in Syria. How fickle is the glory of a hero! That '. . . name at which mankind grew pale' is now lost in obscurity, and the events in the East, which occupied and tortured the breast of every politician in Europe, are now so overlooked that barely are they discussed in the survey of politics at present.

In Italy Suwarrow and ye Austrians have driven out the French; the Cis-Alpine district is returning to the dominion of its former possessors; dear, pretty Florence is restored to its mild sovereign. Lord Nelson has brought back the fugitive monarch to his capital, and Naples now exhibits a scene of revenge, more bloody than the Sicilian Vespers.[1] The hearts of Frenchmen are

[1] After the departure of Macdonald and the French from Naples, the town was seized by the Royalist bands and only two or three isolated fortresses garrisoned by Frenchmen and Neapolitan rebels

brought as trophies to a cruel people, who crouched in servile subjection whilst they were too abject to fight their own cause. Ly. Hamilton has not been remiss in adding her quota to the barbarity which enflames every breast. Rome is yet without its Pontiff, and for the happiness of a large portion of the natives of those happy climates it is to be hoped will for ever so remain, as no one can wish to see the restoration of a government founded upon the superstitions of mankind, and burthensome in itself.

An expedition into Holland for the restoration of the Stadtholder has just been undertaken.[1] It commenced ill; a fort was taken with the loss of some officers and five hundred men. Since that the Dutch fleet has surrendered, whether voluntarily or by the treachery of its officers is yet a secret. The Duke of York is to go and take the command. I don't know how his presence will inspire courage to those troops he absconded with so hastily but a few years back. The expense is said to be so enormous that the income tax, which, by-ye-bye, has fallen short of the calculation, will go to take a fifth, instead of a tenth, of our incomes in future.

Left Bowood, Tuesday, ye 3rd; passed through a richly cultivated, well-built, and populous vale to

held out. The sequence of subsequent affairs is most complicated. It appears a capitulation under terms was arranged, but was disallowed by Nelson until the sanction was obtained of the King, who was expected in the course of a few days. The result was to hand over to the popular fury many of those who had surrendered on the understanding that their lives were safe.

[1] A landing was effected near the Helder on August 27, and three days later the Dutch fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line, obeyed Admiral Michell's summons to surrender. The seamen were inclined to the Royal cause and forced their officers to take this course. Until the arrival of the Russians a fortnight later the English remained on the defensive, then an advance was commenced which proved unsuccessful. Various small engagements took place with varied result, but by the middle of October it was found impossible for the allies to win their way from the islands on which they were encamped. Retreat was therefore necessary, and a capitulation was arranged.

Wincanton. Passed thro' Longleat and Stourton; slept at the first town, and arrived here, Sherborne Castle, on Wednesday. It is an old Gothic mansion; the *corps de logis* was built by Sir Walter Raleigh, who, if one may judge from oral tradition, seemed attached to the spot, as there is a venerable grove planted by his hand and honoured with his name. Upon his death his estates were confiscated, and granted by the narrow-minded pedant, who sacrificed to policy and intrigue his glorious life, to his infamous minion Somerset. Upon his fall they were bestowed upon the singular George Digby, Earl of Bristol,[1] whose adventures form some of the most diverting anecdotes in Clarendon's history. It has since remained in the Digby family. On the opposite side of the lake are the ruins of the castle of Sherborne, held out by a lady of the family against the dismantling summons of Cromwell. The ground is classic; an eminence called Jerusalem Hill is crowned on the summit with a clump of firs planted by Pope. He was a frequent inmate, and the friend of an affectionate brother and sister, whose affection he has commemorated in an epitaph in Sherborne Church.

We found only Mr. Hoare with Ld. Digby, a brother of Sr. R. Hoare,[2] the owner of Stourhead, a handsome, gentlemanlike young man. The next day Ld. Westmoreland[3] came. He is coarse in mind, manners, and

[1] Sherborne was granted in 1616 to Sir John Digby, first Earl of Bristol, his father. It now belongs to Mr. Frederick Wingfield Digby.

[2] Sir Richard Colt Hoare, second Baronet (1758–1838), only son of Sir Richard Hoare, of Barn Elms, by his first wife, Anne, daughter of Henry Hoare, Esq., of Stourhead. The first Baronet had also a large family by his second wife, Frances Ann, daughter of Richard Acland, Esq.

[3] John, eleventh Earl of Westmorland (1759–1841). He succeeded his father in 1774, and married, against the wishes of her family, in 1782, Sarah Ann, only daughter of Robert Child, Esq., of Osterley Park. Her death took place in 1793, and Lord Westmorland married, in 1800, Jane, daughter of R. H. Saunders, Esq., M.D. He was Lord-

language. The first is overbearing and sanguinary; he appears to be one who thinks strong measures indicate a strong mind, and that vigour denotes intrepidity, whereas in my opinion the reverse is proved, for genuine fortitude inculcates clemency. His manners are those that spring from power engrafted upon a low education, and his language is a symbol of both. I do not wonder he is accused of having sowed the seeds of the late rebellion in Ireland; he seems of a character calculated to irritate wavering loyalty into rebellion. He spoke so brutally of some of the wretched prisoners who had escaped his fury, that my heart beat high with indignation, and even *I* for a moment felt a movement in behalf of a nation I never liked.

There have been a few newcomers every day; Mr. Newbolt came over to see us. Yesterday Mr. Wingfield,[1] who married Ld. Digby's sister, arrived. He is like Archibald Hamilton, who, by-the-bye, is now become Ld. A. H.,[2] in person, and unfortunately, in manner resembles Mr. Chaplin,[3] the same precise, deliberate way of speaking.

Since I have been here I have read a *Life of Voltaire*, written, I believe, by Condorcet. It proves what I was not at all aware of—that Voltaire was really persecuted

Lieutenant of Ireland from 1790 to 1795, and Lord Privy Seal from 1798 until 1827, with a short interval in 1806–7.

[1] William Wingfield Baker, son of George Wingfield, of Cotham, co. Durham, and Mary, niece of George Sparrow, Esq. He married Charlotte Marie, daughter and sole heiress of Henry, first Earl Digby, in 1796. She died in 1807, and Mr. Wingfield married, in 1813, Elizabeth, daughter of William Miles, Esq., of Bisterne, Hants. He assumed the name of Baker by royal licence in 1849, and died in 1858.

[2] Lord Archibald's father succeeded his nephew in August 1799, as ninth Duke of Hamilton, and sixth Duke of Brandon.

[3] Thomas Chaplin, of Riseholme, Lincolnshire, second son of Charles Chaplin and Elizabeth Thornton. He married Elizabeth, Sir Godfrey Webster's sister, and was appointed guardian to the Webster children after Sir Godfrey's death.

for his freedom of opinions, and that a timely escape and concealment was necessary to save his liberty at different periods. Absurd and unjust as most of the attacks are against *philosophy*, as it is called, one must admit that those free principles and the spirit of investigation which pervades all Voltaire's writings, tended very much to induce people to attempt eradicating prejudices and making reforms before they had well examined into the abuses or prepared a remedy against them. It is without an example in the records of mankind that a single man, unaided by the fanaticism of religious superstition, should have produced such a change in the sentiments of a large bulk of Europe as Voltaire did: one can scarcely say it has been for the better when the devastation of France is now before our eyes. Whatever mischief may have arisen from the freedom of discussion, I think many now living will outlive the practice, as there is an anti-conspiracy to that of which the philosophers are accused now making among the rich and powerful—one that, if pursued with the ardour I see many enter into it with, will inevitably be the ruin of all taste, literature, and civil liberty. The young men of fashion and birth are bit with a military mania; they all aim at attaining a martial air, and a reputation for strictness in their Militia discipline. Without reflecting much, they are persuaded a military force is necessary to keep the people down, and that as religion is co-existent with the State, so it is wise to support it even in its abuses. Fifty years hence I have no hesitation in foretelling that there will be little toleration, a curbed press, a great standing army, and what is called a *vigilant* government.

Poor Doctor Ingenhousz is gone for ever; he died last week at Bowood. Ld. L., with his warm benevolence to those to whom he is attached, afforded him every friendly comfort to the last. He did not shun the sight

of a dying man, altho' at his time of life the spectacle is but painful to contemplate, as it brings to mind a crisis that to him cannot be very distant. Ingenhousz was a Dutchman by birth; he was first distinguished as an inoculator to the Imperial Court.

We stayed exactly a week at Sherborne; I passed my time agreeably and left it with regret. I did nothing the whole morning but float upon the water in a state of luxurious indolence. Ld. Digby told me he had heard that Ld. Ossory had asked the Chancellor for a Commissioner of Bankruptcy for Bobus.[1] I can believe it *now*, tho' two years ago I was credulous enough to receive as sincere the fustian declamations upon independence, and that a lofty, aspiring mind would owe nothing to the influence of others; that it would extort reward by its sole merit, and that the only check upon his felicity in uniting himself to his antiquated wife was that her connections were great and powerful, which, to little minds, might be supposed operated as an inducement to the union.

Not, however, to speak fairly, do I think these motives actuated him: I truly believe he imagined he felt the *belle passion*. Be that as it may, I now think he is disposed to avail himself very readily of any advantage those connections can procure him, for his whole deportment recently demonstrates what is always said, 'That no one despises situation and family, but those who have no claim nor chance of either.' He reminds me of the old story of the opera contractor, Gallini, who captivated a lady of noble family, Lady Betty Germaine, and was astonished at hearing that his marriage with her did not ennoble him, and that he did not legally become what he styled himself, Ld. Betty Gallini. The alteration has not escaped the keenness of Dumont, who

[1] He did not obtain this post, but was appointed Advocate-General in Bengal, through Lord Lansdown's influence, in 1803.

observes that after a visit to Warwick Castle he is more than usually inflated with dignity and a soaring spirit; he says the *Lord-erie* of the coronets, escutcheons, towers, gateways, etc., at that place inspire him by anticipation with all the haughtiness he will feel when he fulfils the dignities he expects to acquire.

Fifty thousand years, if so many were allowed, would not efface from my mind the advice a man gave me about my poor little girl; he said, 'Suppress her entirely; do not let her suffer in a pecuniary way. She is not injured, as she is ignorant of what she loses. Success for her is doubtful, and the misconstruction and chattering of the world against her is certain.' These worldly maxims revolted my feelings, but convinced me he who could give them was made to thrive, and would not kick at that stumbling-block in the road to ambition which throws many off their course, called *genuine* honesty, as there is a material difference in the essential properties of that quality. The one he will make use of will help him on. Depraved as men are in a corrupt state of things, they yet like the names of virtues as much as they abhor the practice. La Rochefoucauld says, 'L'hypocrisie est un hommage que le vice rend à la vertu.' I heard of Dr. Parr's saying a thing to Mackintosh that was more coarse than witty, but yet it was pointed and quick. Mackintosh, in canvassing O'Coigly's character, alluding to some transactions, said, 'That was shabby; besides, his confession proved that he died with a lie in his mouth.' 'No, no, Jemmy, he was not shabby, because he was an Irishman and *not* a Scotchman; he did *not* die with a lie in his mouth, because he was a Catholic and *not* a philosopher.'

Leaving Sherborne they went to Saltram by way of Honiton, Exeter, Ashburton and Ivybridge.

This house (Saltram, Ld. Boringdon's) is quite the best

I ever resided in. The apartments are numerous and excellent; they contain many pictures, and some very fine. It is an immense pile of building. The beauty of the view depends upon the tide, which when full is very pleasing, Mount Edgcombe, Plymouth, etc. Switzerland, Italy, the Tyrol, and Nice have rendered me difficult about picturesque and grand views, therefore I am less inclined to be enthusiastic than most people.

Living in a house built and liked by the great Raleigh [1] brought him more forcibly to my recollection. I turned over various histories to obtain all I could relating to him, —*State Trials*, *Biographia Britannica*, Gibbon's *Memoirs*, Osborne's detached remarks. I stayed at Saltram till the 22nd September. Ye time slipped away easily. Ld. Bor. was really happy at seeing us, and cordiality combined with goodheartedness and temper are such excellent ingredients in a character, that if there are any deficiencies they are overlooked. I had the misfortune—and a most severe, heartfelt one it was—to lose my faithful companion, my attached Pierrot.[2] He died! I loved him for his own merits, and was grateful for his devotion to me; indeed, I am convinced that he could not have survived my loss. Ld. H. made impromptu the following lines for his epitaph :—

> Pierrot, of race, of form, of manners rare,
> Envied alike in life and death lies here.
> Living he proved the favourite of the fair,
> And dying drew from beauty's eye a tear.

He was the gift of Ld. Henry.[3] He faithfully maintained the love for me his master felt whilst living. Peace to them both!

I viewed the dockyard and Mt. Edgecombe from

[1] Sherborne. [2] A yellow and white spaniel.
[3] Lord Henry Spencer.

it; I was too timid to venture in a boat across the Hamoaze. Many people came to dinner; Colonels of the Militia Regiments quartered at Plymouth, the celebrated Tommy Onslow,[1] who was full of jokes and puns. Some are good; to me he was entertaining, as I did not know his stock, but that is slender, and they are often repeated. Seeing him but once or twice did not exhaust them. Sir John Frederick[2] is a mild, gentlemanlike man; he has the manners of a man of the world, pleasant conversation, and a fair portion of information. Colonel Montagu[3] I saw but once. Ld. Bor. announced him as a superior man, and I was therefore prepared for something remarkable, tho' his praises are often queerly bestowed, frequently for the love of paradox, to surprise by admiring what others disapprove. However, Col. M. appears to be clever: he launched forth upon the topics he is *au fait* of, and during a three-hours' assemblage of people at and after dinner he gave the natural history of every bird that flies and every fish that swims. He is a man of bad temper, nor does it sound creditable to him that none of his officers speak to him, and they are upon the eve of bringing him to a Court-martial. He is separated from his wife, and might inherit an estate of his brother's if he would be united to her; but the condition is too hard, and he renounces the possession of a benefit *so* encumbered.

[1] Colonel the Hon. Thomas Onslow (1755–1827), eldest son of George Lord Onslow, who was created Earl of Onslow in 1801. He sat in Parliament for Rye from 1775 to 1784, and for Guildford from 1784 till 1806. He succeeded his father as second Earl in 1814.

[2] Sir John Frederick, of Burwood Park, Surrey, fifth Baronet (1749–1825); for some years M.P. for Surrey.

[3] Lieut.-Colonel George Montagu (1751–1815), son of James Montagu, of Lackham, Wilts, a connection of the Earls of Manchester. He served in the American war, and commanded the Wiltshire Militia for many years. He was an authority on natural history, and published an *Ornithological History of British Birds* in 1802. His collection of birds was purchased by the British Museum.

The Duke of Somerset [1] came over and stayed at two different times. He would have liked to have made a longer visit, but his mother was arrived at Plymouth, and she is a jealous bigot. He possesses a plain understanding and a mind in a progressive state of improvement. He reads and reflects and judges for himself, mixed with great diffidence and caution. He has had no advantage from an intercourse with the world. He lives retired, and it is quite singular to observe the impression a common, sensible remark, which might be made by anybody, makes upon him; he looks at one, pauses, and exclaims 'Very true!' in a sincere way, that manifests that he is struck with the justness of the observation, and that he admires the sagacity of the person. I perceived this during the conversation I had with him, and the points that struck him were merely such as any person at all *au courant* of common events would make, rather commonplace, tho' true. His politics are just and temperate; his principles precisely those of a reflecting man, not actuated by any party motives, viewing things not men. He deprecates the inadvertencies of Opposition, as they have rendered themselves so obnoxious that they are dreaded in the country, and have been the means of throwing an unfounded popularity upon King and Ministers. He feels the necessity of abridging the power of the Crown, which he thinks has made rapid strides towards absolute, independent Monarchy. The first step to be taken, he thinks, is to obtain peace almost upon any terms, and the next to retrench the dangerous extension of

[1] Edward Adolphus, eleventh Duke of Somerset (1775–1855) eldest son of Webb, tenth Duke of Somerset, and Anna Maria, daughter of John Bonnel, Esq., of Stanton Harcourt, Oxford. He succeeded his father in 1793, and married, first, in 1800, Charlotte, daughter of Archibald, ninth Duke of Hamilton. His wife died in 1827, after a long illness. He married, secondly, in 1836, Margaret, daughter of Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, Bart. The Duke of Somerset's Devonshire residence was Berry Pomeroy, near Totnes.

prerogative this unfortunate war has given to the King. He has a taste for literature, rather free upon religious subjects, a great admirer of Gibbon—not his style, but his sentiments; many passages he knew by heart and repeated, tho' from diffidence he could hardly finish a sentence, but that soon wore off. He seems well-read in polemics, knew the arguments urged on both sides in all the modern controversies, Parr, Travis, Curtis, Porson, Paley, Gisborne, etc. Upon the whole, I should be pleased to improve my knowledge of him. His brother [1] is a great mathematician and man of science. He would not come, but proposed solving an abstract problem with Mr. Playfair,[2] which had occupied him for some days.

On ye 25th we arrived here, Bowood, where we have found a numerous party. The Archbishop of Bordeaux,[3] a man who practises the piety and resignation his profession bids him teach. Tho' fallen from a high dignity which he supported with honour, he has not been heard to utter an unavailing regret upon the past; he is truly respectable. His Grand Vicaire, L'Abbé Landrecelles, is also entitled to praise for his philosophy. Another Abbé, who is sensible, also was here. Indeed, the whole class of clergy have alone distinguished themselves by their conduct; they acted from principle, and are rewarded with universal esteem and respect. Mr. Dugald

[1] Lord Webb John Seymour, born in 1777, and died unmarried in 1819. Lord Cockburn in his *Memorials* says, 'His special associate was Playfair. They used to be called husband and wife, and in congeniality and affection no union could be more complete. Geology was their favourite pursuit.'

[2] John Playfair (1748–1819), Professor of Mathematics, and later of Natural Philosophy, in the Edinburgh University.

[3] Jérôme Marie Champion de Cicé (1735–1810), appointed Archbishop of Bordeaux in 1781. He sided with the popular party, and his appointment to a post in the Ministry by Louis XVI., after Necker's return, was well received. He was accused, however, of favouring the reactionaries, and resigned his office and Bishopric in 1790. He remained abroad until the establishment of the Consulate.

Stuart [1] and his wife, from Edinburgh, were here: he is reserved, and I did not hear him speak, but he is supposed deservedly to enjoy a high reputation. She is clever, well-informed, and pleasing.

I read Voltaire's *Memoirs*, written by himself; I do not think any of his works abound with more genuine wit. The whole narrative of his connection with the King of Prussia is a *chef d'œuvre*, but tho' he tells his own story, yet it is evident that he was in the wrong in their quarrel.

The Duke of York has met with a check in his attack on Alkmaer; he seems to have quarrelled with Abercromby,[2] as his official dispatch is silent in his praise. I fear the whole expedition will fail, and prove a useless waste of blood and treasure.

There is some perverse quality in the mind that seems to take an active pleasure in destroying the amusement it promises to itself. It never fails to baffle my expectations; so sure as I propose to my imagination an agreeable conversation with a person where past experience warrants the hope, so sure am I disappointed. I feel it perpetually, for example, with Dumont; with him I have passed very many cheerful hours. This knowledge tempts me to renew our walks, the consequence is we both yawn. I can only account for it from a mutual effort to revive the same topics, or that we both endeavour to infuse a

[1] Dugald Stewart (1753–1828), son of Matthew Stewart, Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh University. He assisted his father in his later years with his mathematical classes, and in 1785 was appointed to the chair of Moral Philosophy. His lectures were eagerly attended, and many of the young men of the great Whig families were sent to Edinburgh to benefit by them. He married, first, in 1783, Helen, daughter of Neil Bannatyne, by whom he had one son. She died in 1787, and he married in 1790, Helen, daughter of Hon. George Cranstoun—the 'Ivy' of the letters, recently published, from John William Ward (afterwards Earl of Dudley), who had been placed under her husband's care. She died in 1838.

[2] Sir Ralph Abercromby, his second-in-command.

liveliness equal to what we remember pervaded our past conversations; and where there is labour there is always failure. It is now got over; we have ascertained that we each vary in *agrément*, either from condition, weather, or other circumstances; and we have made up our minds to it, and are four times in five highly gratified. I am convinced there is a period in all intimacies where that feeling takes place. I am so persuaded of the impracticability of arranging, '*Now* we will be pleasant,' that I shun settling a meeting: chance does favourably what method would destroy. He possesses a fund quite inexhaustible of amusement, literature, anecdotes, lively observation, disquisition upon grave subjects; all this combined with a good heart and temper. He spends his leisure too much upon an occupation that I should doubt repaying him with fruit equal to the labour. He is translating and elucidating a metaphysical system upon legislation, jurisprudence, etc., of Bentham's. His imagination appears better calculated to adorn the *belles lettres* with just criticism than to define the Penal Code. But no person of abilities finds out exactly their excellence. Boccaccio despised the only work which makes him immortal. He never showed his friend Petrarch his *Decamerone*, tho' upon second thoughts Petrarch must have known parts at least of the work, as he tells him in their letters he frequently reads *Griselda*, but never without shedding tears. Beautiful as the *Griselda* is in ye Italian, I am almost disposed to prefer our Chaucer's English version; there is a pathetic simplicity that touches the heart. The expressions are very natural where one can understand the language.

The day before we left Bowood Mr. Jekyll came. He is never so pleasant where Ld. L. is, as elsewhere; he aims at being the grave senator, and becomes pompous, didactic, and, with his merry little figure, one may add ridiculous.

On Tuesday we left Bowood. Our long conversations and disputes upon Stonehenge and the Druidical worship made us desirous of seeing that remarkable place: we therefore went by it to London. It is, to be sure, a most wonderful edifice, let it be raised by who it may. I shall transcribe great part of the description of its situation, etc., from Gough's edition of Camden's *Britannia*.

We arrived that night at Basingstoke, and arrived here on Wednesday. We found Ste. in perfect health and spirits; he is fat and ugly, but very merry and strong. His head is beautifully shaped; his ears are as pretty as his father's; he will be darker than Charles. In the eve. Ld. H. went to see his uncle Mr. Fox, who was confined in town under the care of two surgeons. A gun burst in his hand and shattered his fingers. There was for some time a danger of his losing one of them. Hamilton came and stayed a night. There is a great perplexity in the family about his brother's name, whether it is to be Douglas or Clydesdale.[1] The Chancellor has started the difficulty, but Scotch etiquettes are a *mer à boire*. The late Duke made no will, but left bonds to a great amount, for which his personal property must answer; thus the fine pictures at the Palace of Hamilton will go to the hammer. There is no danger of Ld. Stanley claiming the dukedom.

I went on Thursday to the play; General Fitzpatrick came with us. Sr. Lionel[2] dined with us on

[1] Alexander (1767–1852), who succeeded his father, as tenth Duke of Hamilton in 1819. The difficulty was solved by styling him Marquess of Douglas and Clydesdale.

James, sixth Duke of Hamilton (1724–58), the husband of the beautiful Elizabeth Gunning, left two sons and one daughter, Elizabeth, who married Edward, twelfth Earl of Derby. The two sons succeeded successively as seventh and eighth Dukes, and on the latter's death in 1799 the titles reverted to Lord Archibald Hamilton's father—the half-brother of the sixth Duke.

[2] Copley.

Saturday, and Hamilton. On Sunday, General Fox.[1] He is going immediately to Minorca, where he is appointed Governor. His wife is not to accompany him now; she imputes her not doing so to Sr. James St. Clair's pompous dispatches, in which he announces the intention of the Spaniards to attack that place, a vapour to give himself importance.

10*th October*, '99.—On Monday last Ld. H. moved for leave to bring in an Address to his Majesty upon the Russian Treaties;[2] consequently the House is summoned, and to-morrow he is to bring it forward. He is extremely nervous, not having spoken in public for some months till the other two days last week. The Treaty for ye 17,000 men employed in Holland contains an article contrary to ye constitution: 'His Majesty *engages*, in case the troops should be compelled to leave Holland at a season when the Baltic is frozen over, that they shall pass ye winter in England.' This article is a direct violation of the laws, and without precedent. He means to

[1] Lord Holland's uncle, the Hon. Henry Edward Fox (1755–1811), youngest son of Henry, first Lord Holland, and Caroline, daughter of Charles, second Duke of Richmond. He entered the army at the age of fifteen, and served in America throughout the war. On his return in 1783 he was appointed aide-de-camp to George III., and especially distinguished himself in command of an infantry brigade in Flanders (1793–95). He was appointed Lieut.-General in 1799, and received successively the appointments of General in the Mediterranean (1801), Commander-in-Chief in Ireland (1803), Lieut.-Governor of Gibraltar (1804). In 1806 he was given command of the forces in Sicily, and appointed Ambassador to the Court of Naples, but was recalled on the fall of the Ministry the following year and made Governor of Portsmouth. He married, in 1786, Marianne, daughter of William Clayton, Esq.

[2] The treaties were originally drawn up with the object of prevailing on the King of Prussia to join against the common foe. These efforts, however, failed, and England and Russia decided that a joint attack on the French in Holland was the most likely step to annoy. A second treaty was therefore concluded to this effect. After the ultimate failure of the expedition the Russians were quartered for the winter in Jersey and Guernsey.

introduce at the same time a wish that measures may be taken to manifest a desire of peace.

Alkmaer is taken with a great loss of men; the details are not yet come. Tierney was here this morning in a sort of perplexity at a suspicion of Nepean's,[1] the Under-Secretary of State. It seems that in a private letter from General Coote to Sr. Charles Grey [2] the *truth* is told of the conduct of the Russians, who absolutely refused to advance, throwing themselves flat on their bellies and declaring they would not stir. This letter Tierney saw, and it was known to Nepean that he had seen it. Combining that with Ld. H.'s motion to-morrow, they feared this circumstance would be made public, and Sr. C. Grey came to town this morning, in a fright, to explain matters. The fact is, Ld. H. knew nothing of the affair till to-day, and at Tierney's request from Sr. C. G. of course will not make any use of the knowledge.

11*th October*, '99.—On Wednesday, 9th October, Ld. King [3] passed the day and dined. He is young and handsome. His political principles are strongly anti-Government; his liking to Ld. H. makes him act with him, tho' his opinion disposes him to exceed the limits Opposition have drawn to themselves; *pour trancher le mot*, he is what is called a Jacobin. His dislike to what

[1] Evan Nepean (1751–1822), created a Baronet in 1802. He was Secretary to the Admiralty from 1795 until 1804, when he became Secretary of State for Ireland.

[2] General Sir Charles Grey, K.B. (1729–1807), afterwards created Earl Grey. He was at this time in command of the Southern district in England.

[3] Peter, seventh Lord King (1776–1833), eldest son of Peter, sixth Lord King, and Charlotte, daughter of Edward Tredcroft, Esq., of Horsham. He succeeded his father in 1793, and married, in 1804, Lady Hester Fortescue, daughter of Hugh, first Earl Fortescue. His eldest son was created Earl of Lovelace in 1838. He made his maiden speech in the House of Lords on the above subject two months later, but seldom took part in the debates. He became, however, a recognised authority on questions of finance and currency.

is established is more against the Church than to the State: he quite abhors the Christian religion. He has a considerable share of information in theology, metaphysics, and political economy. Seeing him but once sociably, I cannot accurately estimate his worth. He is a most affectionate, excellent son. He came to town on purpose to second Ld. H. to-night. Tho' he is not a remarkable speaker, yet he is stout, and Ld. H. expects to find a consolation in having him; as any person who is warm on the same side must be a relief from the *agony* of a solitary opposition. Yesterday I had a visit from a strange man, a Dr. Hager;[1] he was employed by ye King of Naples to detect a literary fraud in Sicily. One of the impostures was a supposed Arabic translation of all the works of Livy containing the lost books: this curiosity he discovered to be an ingenious fabrication. The other was some grants to the Church during the period where there is a hiatus in ye Sicilian history. His head is crammed full of metaphysics and erudition, to the total exclusion of every particle of common sense. I could perceive *rays* of *illumination* about him, when he talked of his admiration of truth and the necessity among enlightened people to substitute a moral catechism for *that* built upon the credulity and superstition of mankind. His *generous spirit* of converting those misled by error, alias religion, will involve him in scrapes should he not be wiser before he publishes in this country, as I suspect it has done already in Germany. He is one of Ld. Wycombe's strange men; he picked him up in Sicily.

[1] Joseph Hager, born at Milan in 1757. A German by birth, he was educated at Vienna, and after obtaining a thorough knowledge of European languages turned his attention to those of the East. He wrote several books on the Chinese tongue, by which he obtained celebrity, and was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages at Pavia in 1809. When this post was abolished, he became Keeper of the Milan Library. He died in 1818.

Amherst came; I complimented him upon his speech. He seconded the Address.[1] He was sure to do it with propriety, therefore a congratulation was safe; as he is as certain of not exposing as he is of not distinguishing himself. He has a good heart, with a narrow mind; of all the young men he is the most *borné* in point of intellect. Nature seems to have determined upon confining him within *proprieties*. He was born to be a courtier, to live upon the terrace at Windsor, and wear the uniform; beyond that he will never get, unless Canning may want a *tête-de-perruque* to fill up a gap in any motley Administration he may have the forming of hereafter.

Tierney spent the whole morn.; I am very happy to discover that he has dropped the folly that made him tiresome and ridiculous this summer. To-day Mr. Grey came to assist Ld. H. in some calculations and in drawing up the Address; he is very pleasing when at his ease. We laughed over Tierney's unsteadiness; one day his determination to make motions upon every great question, the next his *abattement* and timidity. Grey told a good answer of Mr. Beddinfield's to Dundas. A few years ago the mob attacked ye King's carriage and were going to commit some violence. Mr. B. was in the park; he immediately pulled out a pistol, and dispelled the rioters. The next day Dundas asked him what he would have bestowed upon him as token of favour. He said, 'I wish only, Sir, that you would make me a Scotchman.'

He read the surgeon's letter giving an account of his brother's wound; the ball went through the knee, and was extracted from the hollow ham within. It seems to have been an escape. Grey was going over to see him, unless this good report had come.

Sunday, October 13th, '99.—Ld. H. made a motion for

[1] At the opening of the session, on September 24.

peace. He was satisfied with himself, especially in his reply to Ld. Grenville. From his account I should fear that, tho' it was able, it was too personal.

On that very night came the news of the strange reverse the Allies have experienced, 19,000 Austrians and Russians captured and slaughtered, Zurich re-taken, and many other places in Switzerland; Hotze, the Austrian General, killed; [1] Suwarrow had crossed the St. Gothard to relieve that army, and when they were defeated he was advancing to assist. Ld. Macartney has just brought me the further news, which is that the cruel, bloody Suwarrow is totally defeated and probably taken prisoner. The monster who in cold blood cut the throats of women and children in Warsaw and the suburbs, and who exceeded his orders to make them more barbarous at Ismail, will not excite my pity even under the most rigorous captivity. There let him groan. The day of retribution ought to be in this life, to convince one that punishment is not withheld to a dubious period. These famous Russians, who have been so puffed since they have been subsidised, turn out to be the only fit food for powder, as nowhere do they fight; in Italy all the glory of the expulsion of the French from thence is due to the brave Austrians. Thus has this mighty horde of barbarians dwindled to a handful of tattered, ill-disciplined, worse-officered, half-starved savages.

Ld. Macartney was present at the debate; he said

[1] In a series of engagements centring round Zurich Masséna forced the Russian General Korsakoff to retreat to Constance, and inflicted on him great loss. The *Annual Register* puts the loss of the Allies, arrived at 'by a most ingenious and accurate computation,' from September 25 to October 9, at 15,000 men, and that of the French at 9000. Suvarroff, however, was not 'totally defeated.' On finding what had occurred, he decided to move his army straight across Switzerland, and after an adventurous march, complicated by continual fighting, effected a junction with Korsakoff early in October. Suvarroff retired to Russia shortly after this, and died in retirement.

Ld. H.'s reply was excellent, that it proved him to have very superior abilities, but he altogether disapproves so much of the line he has taken that he cannot be hearty in any praise.

Bonaparte has gained a great victory at Aboukir ;[1] the tower is defended, but must fall. It is supposed Sr. Sidney Smith is in it. When he is Bonaparte's prisoner it is to be hoped he will assist him to correct his narrative of the affair of Acre, as Sr. Sidney's rhodomontades do not accord much with probability. It was an unnatural state of things that Bonaparte should have for a moment such a buskin hero for a competitor ; whilst he was eclipsed, one might say :—

> An eagle tow'ring in its height of pride
> Was by a mousing owl hawk'd at, and killed.

I went yesterday morning to see a milliner who is just arrived from Paris ; she brings strange dresses and fashions, and some sumptuous, costly to a degree that she cannot get a purchaser. She complains that a Deputy's wife at Paris spends more upon her attire than a duchess does here. She has veils that cost 50 guineas, morning head-dresses 20, and so on in proportion. She says Paris never was yet at such a pitch of luxury and *recherche* in dress as at present.

Saturday, 19*th*.—On Sunday last Mr. and Mrs. Stuart and Dr. Hager dined here. On Monday we went to the play with the Stuarts. On Tuesday Ld. Macartney, Calonne, James, and the Fish dined, very tolerably pleasant. On Wednesday I went to see Mr. James's pretty room and fine books ; he has given in to the luxury of splendid editions, broad paper, and sumptuous

[1] The castle of Aboukir had been stormed and captured on July 15 by the Turkish army under Mustapha Pasha. It fell again into the hands of the French on August 2, after eight days' fighting.

bindings. The collection is as complete as possible for the sort of thing, but the expense is enormous, and hardly answers in point of enjoyment, tho' one is not sorry to see fine specimens of the various arts of printing, paper-making, bookbinding, etc., etc. He has contrived to spend 5000*l.* upon articles that lie in a very small compass.

The Bessboroughs, who have just returned from ye Isle of Thanet, dined with us; they brought Ld. Boringdon. There was besides Mr. Wm. Smith,[1] an Irish orator, who made a fine speech and wrote a good pamphlet in favour of the Union. He is uncommonly bashful, an infirmity not peculiar to his nation, but one which impedes his being reckoned as able as he is to common observers.

The whole Dutch expedition has failed, and the troops are coming back forthwith, tho' there are great apprehensions entertained as to their being able to withdraw without immense loss; they calculate upon losing their rearguard of 3000 men.[2] Out of evil there is good: Lds. Morpeth and G. Leveson had offered their services, and were upon the point of going. Ld. G. is raising a regiment,

[1] William Cusac Smith (1766–1836), eldest son of Sir Michael Smith, Bart., who died in 1808. He was called to the Irish Bar in 1788, and became a King's Counsel seven years later. Though a follower of Burke, he sided with the Government, and was a strong supporter of their policy of the Union. He was appointed Solicitor-General in 1800, and a Baron of the Exchequer the following year.

[2] The position of the British and Russian troops in Holland had become so unsatisfactory and precarious owing to the inclemency of the weather and various other circumstances, that the Duke of York decided early in October to withdraw his advance posts and report the whole matter to the home Government. The enemy made one determined attack on the British during their retirement, but were repulsed with loss. On October 17 a truce was agreed to between the combatants, and it was arranged as a set-off to permission to the British to re-embark without molestation that 8000 of the Batavian and French seamen, prisoners in England, should be given up to the French.

and is appointed Lt.-Col. I am sorry he throws away very excellent abilities upon a profession where so little is required—at least, as it is practised in this country; and I believe as a good patriot one ought to hope it may for ever remain as insignificant as it has done hitherto. Parliament is adjourned until January. We went to the play, Tierney, Mr. Hoare, and Capt. Murray. Confirmation of the French accounts of the losses of the Allies in Switzerland, etc., etc.

Sunday, 20th, '99.—The whole day I was confined to my own den by a most villainous cold. After we had finished our dinner Ld. Morpeth came to dine. He arrived in town only the preceding evening.

The immense price of sugar has defeated the avarice of the proprietors of it; various experiments have been made, first, to extract sugar from saccharine vegetables, and then to grow it in different climates. In Prussia they obtain 8 lbs. weight of good sugar from 100 lbs. of beet root. In America a settlement called the Notches, above the river Ohio, has grown a large quantity from the sugar cane. The price is only kept up by some commercial artifice winked at by the Government. The revenues of the West Indians will be considerably diminished, and tho' I ultimately may suffer I confess I should feel very little sorrow if they had been at 0 for the last four years; then *he* would not have added another example to the many—that injustice thrives.

25th, Friday, Money Hill.—On Sunday, 20th, Curran [1] dined with us. He was intimidated at the sight of the tables as he passed through the room, and told Mr. Tierney he feared he should not be able to speak. He kept his word, as he did not utter three sentences during dinner.

[1] John Philpot Curran (1750–1817), the Irish lawyer and patriot. He was on most occasions distinguished for his wit and the brilliancy of his conversation.

We had, besides, Mr. Grey, ye Bessbro's, Mr. Weld, Mr. George Ponsonby [1] (the Irish orator), and the Duke of Bedford. On Monday Mr. Wm. Smith, the Irish Unionist, Mr. Hoare, whom I knew at Sherborne, and Calonne. Calonne slept. He gave us a most interesting narrative of the assembling of the Notables, and many particulars of the latter event during his Administration; if ever I have patience I believe I would detail the account. We went the next day to Money Hill, where we found the Smiths. They stayed till Thursday, on which day Ld. Bor. came. He went on Friday; we returned home on Saturday. . . .

On Tuesday the Beauclerks went. She wished very much to stay, as her health required repose; the motion of the carriage disagrees with her always, and she was not recovered from the journey of the day before. This consideration, added to her being far advanced with child, had no effect upon Beau.; he was positive. I fear he is disposed to be peremptory in trifles. I do not like to give way to all my fears upon the score of his temper, but she is all sense and gentleness. Ld. Morpeth and Dumont dined, a very pleasant dinner. Ld. M. stayed, and *cause'd* late; Dumont slept. Ld. M. is very amiable in a small party, where he is quite at his ease.

Bonaparte is returned with his staff to Paris. The cause of his return is involved in mystery as yet.[2]

[1] George Ponsonby (1755–1817), third son of John Ponsonby, and brother of William, first Lord Ponsonby. After many years in the Irish Parliament, he took his seat at Westminster in 1801, as member for Wicklow. He was appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1806, but after the fall of the Ministry returned to the House of Commons. From 1808 until his death he was recognised as the official leader of the Opposition in that House.

[2] Bonaparte left Egypt on August 24 'in consequence of news from Europe,' as he stated in his general declaration to the Army. He landed at Fréjus on October 7, and at once set off for Paris.

7th November.—I have just begun La Harpe's *Cours de Littérature*; they are lectures upon *les belles lettres*, delivered at the Lycée. On Friday, 1st Nov., a remarkable pleasant day, Ld. Ossory, Macartney, Morpeth, Calonne, Fish Craufurd, Tierney. The youth of Ld. M., and the Jacobinism of the latter did not promise to accord with the years and gravity of the rest of the party, but the singularity gave a zest, and everybody was delighted. Tierney won so much upon Ld. Macartney, that I am sure he might be made coadjutor to any outlandish embassy Ld. M. may be appointed to: he boasts of being *homme à tout plat.* Ld. Ossory was very happy, notwithstanding my Lady's prohibition of his being so within these walls.

The Smiths came in the evening. We were to have taken them next day to my mother's in Suffolk, that Mrs. S. might visit her father at Newmarket, but during the night Ld. H. was seized with some sharp twinges of the gout, which obliged us to delay our journey, much to my disappointment, as by it I lost the sight of my dear little Harriet. Saturday alone with the Smiths. Sunday Dr. Hager came; Smiths went away. Ld. H. continued ill; not so bad as the fit last autumn. It is curious that the pain seized him almost the day twelvemonth.

10*th Nov. Sunday.*—The failure of the Dutch expedition has created at the time a great sensation, but the public mind is absorbed in the expectation of another enterprise upon the French coast. All parties disclaim having projected it. Pitt's friends say it was all Dundas's scheme; he again lays it to the Queen and Princess of Orange; and they to the *map-makers* for placing dry land where there ought to be swamps. The only person who uniformly disapproved of the undertaking was the Stadtholder.

Public affairs everywhere have assumed a gloomy

aspect. The badness of the season has destroyed the corn in many counties, and the increased price of provisions in the setting in of a threatening winter announces misery to the wretched poor and perhaps no small clamour from them, as certainly the corn sent to Holland must have taken considerably from the stock here, besides that the transports employed to convey the troops were chiefly North-country colliers. Thus the price of coals is at an unknown height, 60 shillings the chauldron. (In December 1799, 6 *guineas*.)

I have been reading *Joseph Andrews*. It is, in point of interest, inferior to *Tom Jones*. There are scenes where the wit is even more excellent, but the *nature* of his characters are sacrificed to a love of buffoonery. Parson Adams is frequently put into situations so extravagant that the ludicrous is destroyed by the impossibility of the events. Fielding had a model, his tutor, a Dr. Young,[1] who was full of learning and simplicity. There is a story of him whilst he was chaplain to one of the Duke of Marlborough's regiments. The enemies were encamped near each other expecting to be engaged; the *distrait* chaplain walked out, and was so absorbed in the perusal of his *Æschylus* that he passed the lines. A sentinel seized him for a spy, and carried him to the general. During his examination he stated so naturally that without thinking of anything one foot followed the other, and brought him without his knowledge where he was, adding that he assured his Excellence he was no spy. 'Ah, mon ami, I sincerely believe you. The D. of M. ne vous aurez jamais choisi pour espion, mais vous resterez dîner.' He was sent off, fully acquitted of the suspicion.

I have endeavoured to persuade Calonne to write his *Mémoires*. Even those of his own life would be inter-

[1] William Young was not Fielding's tutor, but an intimate friend, who collaborated with him in several of his works.

esting; but the period of his Administration, and his generous sacrifices to the Princes subsequent to their emigration, would fill up a period in the history of the Revolution which can only be well done by him. He set the best machine of revolt in motion. His own story is that when at the head of the Finance he found that for many years the expenditure of the Government had exceeded its receipts, and that Necker's *compte rendu* was a false assertion upon false fact: that to remedy this deficit he had persuaded the King to let him propose an equal taxation to the Noblesse and Clergy; that the Queen also was got over, till the night before he was to make his speech to the Notables, when she joined the faction headed by the Archevêque de Sens.[1]

A *bon mot* of Mirabeau upon him. He was a rash, impetuous man, without conduct or judgment. 'L'Archevêque de Sens est toujours hors de son diocèse.'

I am reading the Arabian History in the most methodical way, too laborious to continue. I read Marigny, and refer to Ockley, the *Universal History*, and Gibbon. The latter I shall read when I have finished the others, because to read Gibbon one must understand the history he writes of *à fond*—at least so from his summary way of describing one should infer he thought it necessary for his readers.

Sunday, we had a very pleasant party, Hare, Fitzpatrick, Ld. Robert, Mackintosh, Mr. Scarlett, Smiths, Dumont. Mackintosh talked very pleasantly: his efforts to please were guided by good taste. His memory is very correct and retentive; he illustrated literary criticisms with lively quotations, particularly from

[1] Etienne Charles Loménie de Brienne (1727–1794), who was appointed to succeed Calonne as Finance Minister in 1787. Louis XVI. appointed him Archbishop of Sens the following year, when he had proved himself no greater success as Minister than his predecessor. He was replaced by Necker.

Burke and Gibbon. Mr. Scarlett [1] is a rising man at the Bar; his profits are more upon the circuit than in the King's Bench, but when Erskine and some few of the monopolists are removed he will distinguish himself there. He has an uncommonly benevolent countenance; his heart seems full of mild virtues; tho' very unassuming, he yet is agreeable in a mixed conversation. Smith's boisterous yet superior intellect did not dominate; Hare's keen wit and the General's discerning taste subdued his usual propensity to overpower with clamour and dispute for victory alone. He was temperate and entertaining.

Hare was in full glee; they had all dined at the Lord Mayor's Feast the day before. Combe [2] is an Opposition man, and the *patriots* were received with acclamations in the City; Fox was dragged by the populace, so was the Duke of Bedford. The whole civic festival went off with triumph to the *party*.

Whitbread, the *arch-seceder*, is disposed to return to his duty in Parliament, and measures are to be taken to persuade Mr. Fox to do the same. God knows whether they will succeed. It is a matter of very little consequence whether they do nor not, as the prejudice in the country is too strong to be conquered even by the misconduct and failure of Ministers. The General stayed all night.

[1] James Scarlett (1769–1844), second son of Robert Scarlett, Esq., of Jamaica. He was called to the Bar in 1791, and became a King's Counsel in 1816. After an unsuccessful attempt in 1812 he entered Parliament as a Whig in 1819, and was made Attorney-General by Canning in 1827. He resigned this post the following year, but considering himself ill-used by his party in 1830, joined the Tories, and was by them appointed Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1834. He retained the post until the time of his death. He was created Lord Abinger in 1835. He married, first, in 1792, Louisa Henrietta, daughter of Peter Campbell, Esq., of Kilmory, co. Argyll; and secondly, in 1843, Elizabeth, daughter of Lee Steere, Esq., and widow of Rev. Henry John Ridley.

[2] Harvey Christian Combe, Lord Mayor of London for year ending November 9, 1800.

This morning, Monday, 11th, Dumont left. I was sorry to lose him, as he is *facile à vivre* and full of amusement to me. He is very universally liked by all who have the least relish for literature and good conversation. We had rather a motley mixture at dinner: Hare, Fitzpatrick, General Dalrymple,[1] Capt. Murray, and the Duke of Bedford. The latter is in very bad health; his spirits are visibly affected. On ye 12th the General left us to make some alterations at Sunning Hill; Hare, only, to dinner. On Wednesday Ld. H. went out for the first time. Lewis dined: he repeated some verses he wrote this last summer in Scotland, 'Reflections in a Royal Burying-ground.' They are the best of his, quite in a grand style; there are parts full of philosophy and feeling. In the evening a very comfortable gossiping coze with Hare.

The price of porter is raised; the augmentation has been admitted without clamour. Every article of *first necessity* is alarmingly dear.

14*th Nov.*, '99.—I continue reading the Arabian history with interest, especially in Ockley, whose style is plain and manly, tho' criticism might be busy detecting vulgarisms. A comical observation of Gibbon's upon himself in his *Memoirs* just occurs. He says, 'Ye year 1770 was particularly favourable to the growth of my *intellectual* stature.' The expressions are uncommonly ludicrous, combining it with the recollection of his misshapen, grotesque figure; for he was a monster, and so filthy withal that one could not endure being close to him.

On Thursday, Tierney, Dumont, Sr. Lionel, and Hare to dine; very lively and pleasant. Tierney bore a very

[1] Probably William, second son of Hon. George Dalrymple, of Dalmahoy, who became a general officer and Lieut.-Governor of Chelsea Hospital. He died in 1807, and left a son who succeeded as seventh Earl of Stair.

equal share in the task of amusing with Hare, who is unique in excellence.

Friday alone. Saturday Mr. Morrice came to stay. Went to the play, where I gained a violent *migraine* and additional cold ; brought the Smiths home.

Sunday, 17th.—Sick with headache. Hare to dinner, Duke of Bedford, Robinson, Major Hare, Hare's son. Laughed so immoderately at Hare's liveliness that my head was much worse, and I went to bed seriously ill. The Duke of Bedford looks infinitely better. I am in great hopes he will recover. He is in better spirits.

12th January, 1800.—A variety of little circumstances and frequent illnesses have prevented me from continuing regularly my notes. I went in the course of the month of December to Dalham.[1] I saw my dear child. Mrs. Smith went with us. Our visit did not exceed four days ; we returned by the way of Cambridge, Ld. H. Petty and Mr. Debarry dined with us there. I was curious to ascertain whether the Gothic architecture of Henry VII. [*sic*] chapel would please me now, as it did many years ago, long before I saw the wonders of Italy : I found time and comparison had not in the least diminished my admiration of it.

Bonaparte returned suddenly from Egypt to France. He has overthrown the Directory, and the then form of Governt., and established a constitution at the head of which he is placed as Grand Consul. Should it be a permanent usurpation I will learn with accuracy the outlines, but the revolutions have been as variable as chemical nomenclature or systems of metaphysics. He opened a negotiation for peace lately by writing a letter *directly* to the King : his offer was rejected upon frivolous and peevish pretexts. The reply was made in the most

[1] Sir Gilbert Affleck's house, near Newmarket.

barbarous language, crabbed, ungrammatical, and incomprehensible.[1] The joke of the day was that each of the Ministers who were present contributed their phrase: Mr. Pitt, 'ye limited possibilities'; to Mr. Windham, 'the line of hereditary Princes'; Ld. Grenville, 'rapine, anarchy, and plunder'; nor were Lds. Westmoreland and Camden forgotten by giving 'their explicit acquiescence' to all that was done.

I went to a Harlequin farce on ye 28th December after dining in Cavendish Square; a gun was fired off, which frightened me, and on the morrow I was taken ill. I was very weak and confined to my bed many days; this day is ye 13th, and I am still indisposed.

During my confinement I have been reading among other things multitudes of novels, most of them sad trash, abounding with the general taste for spectres, hobgoblins, castles, etc., etc. Godwin has added to his publications; critics say, not to his reputation. In his preface he announces that he has not abided by the principles contained in his *Political Justice*, as he throughout the work shows that the greatest calamity is to loosen the ties of social confidence and domestic love.[2] Poor Mr. Weld, who dined here occasionally, dropped dead at the Tower, playing at whist with Ld. Thanet. He died under great pecuniary embarrassments. Marsh came to us the first day of the vacation; Ly. Lucy and the Dss.[3] were in the house, but it so happened by Ly. L.'s illness and sure management on our part that they never met.

13*th Jan.*—Monsieur de Bouillé se plaignant de la Révolution dit, 'Ce sont nos gens d'esprit qui nous ont perdu.' 'Ah, Monsieur, que ne nous sauviez-vous' [*sic*], said Mde. de Coigny.

Quand le mariage de Lord Paget fut remis à cause

[1] See *Annual Register* for 1800, State Papers, p. 203.
[2] *St. Leon*, a novel.
[3] Duchess of Leinster.

de l'accident qu'il eut en se tirant la botte, elle dit, ' C'était un mariage remis àpropos de bottes.'

Une personne, attaquée de paralisie à mi-corps, étant depuis grosse, elle dit, ' Elle accouchera donc d'un profil.'

Lorsque Monsr. d'Épremesnil perdit sa popularité, il demanda à Mde. de Coigny pourquoi le même peuple qui l'avait couronné de laurier l'accablait d'injures et le brûlait en effigie. ' C'est,' dit-elle, ' que rien ne brûle plus vite que le laurier dépêché.'

Allant dîner où elle comptait s'ennuyer, elle dit, ' Ce dîner me pèse sur le cœur avant de me peser sur l'estomac.'

A *polacre* conveying dispatches from Alexandria to France was taken off Toulon, carried into Minorca, and the dispatches, which did not sink when thrown overboard, have been forwarded by General Fox to the Governt. They contain minute details of the military colony, and complaints of their being in total want of ammunition, etc., etc. The official letter is from Kléber; he conveys a sort of censure upon Bonaparte for his having quitted the army. He encloses Bonaparte's letter to the army upon his quitting Egypt, in which various reasons for his departure are given; among them is *l'obéissance.* There is also a letter from the *Contrôleur des Finances d'Égypte.* He complains bitterly of the difficulty in levying the taxes, and the stubbornness of the Turks, who, sooner than pay will submit to stripes and even death. These letters and many private ones are to be made public and commented on by the mild spirit of Mr. Gifford.[1] They will be published in a few days, before the meeting of Parliament, in order to give the

[1] William Gifford (1756–1826), a friend of Canning and editor of the *Anti-Jacobin or Weekly Examiner.* He was subsequently editor of the *Quarterly Review* from its commencement in 1809 until 1824.

proper cue to those country members whose warlike spirits may have been subdued at the sight of the universal suffering throughout the country—a suffering aggravated, if not caused, by the horrors of war.

There can be nothing more contemptible than the personal pique all Ministerial people seem to feel towards him. The object in publishing these letters is merely to gall him by an expression or two, and for this gratification they shabbily put in the names of individuals, which may be the means of much private ruin. They say, 'Aye, this will do him up!'

Poor Ld. Andover![1] Unfortunately, in giving his gun to his groom the piece went off, and the whole contents were lodged in his body: he retained his senses 7 hours after the accident, and died shortly after. His wretched wife! What must her feelings be! Each most tenderly attached to the other. It is the only tie which when dissolved makes the vast world a wilderness. How can piety, fortitude, or reason bear up against such a dreadful calamity? Indeed, one cannot wish it should prolong the existence of the miserable relict. That direful separation alone can shake the love of life so deeply rooted in us all. Canning says Ld. Andover used to remind him of Ld. H. at times. Great heavens! how far beyond a remedy must be her sorrows. Without knowing any of the parties, the despair of the situation quite overcomes me, and draws tears of unfeigned pity from my eyes; how fortunate for her should she never awaken to her wretchedness, but die in the agonies of delirium. Oh! in mercy let such be my close if I am doomed to the—oh! I cannot with calmness suppose the case.

[1] Charles Nevison, Viscount Andover (1775–1800), eldest son of John, fifteenth Earl of Suffolk. He married, in 1796, Jane Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas William Coke, afterwards created Earl of Leicester.

Ye Friday party[1] did very well, dissimilar as are the opinions of the parties. On Saturday Ld. Wycombe brought a Spaniard,[2] who is just come from Paris, and is in England without the knowledge and against the consent of the Ministers. He has resided in Paris during the last four years, and he has adopted the principles of Revolution *con amore*. He calls the Church Establishment an infamous institution, and appears quite ripe to back his principles by his practice.

Mr. Fox was persuaded to come and attend the House of Commons on the day the subject of the negotiations was discussed. He always must speak well, but I should have preferred an oratorical, philosophical survey of the events that had arisen during the secession to a mere debating speech, which he made.

The intercepted letters are published with a preface avowedly by Canning; the notes are certainly by another hand. During the debate which Mr. Fox attended Canning launched out with his usual flippancy of tongue against the D. of Bedford, and said he would not lose his time in replying to arguments brought forward from a man of *such* an intellect. Fox gave him the retort *un*courteous and made the little great man shrink. In going out he asked him if he seriously thought he could persuade the country that the D. of B. was an idiot. 'No, I don't; but why did he attack my publication?' 'My publication!' And such a thing it is; the prophecies announcing the Messiah could not usher him in with more awful pomp than he does these letters to the notice of the public.

It was lucky that the first time Mr. Fox heard his nephew speak, should be when he spoke the best. Tho' his terror was excessive, yet he possessed himself, and

[1] Lords Morpeth, Granville Leveson-Gower, Boringdon, Duke of Bedford.

[2] Don Raymond della Massa.

made upon the subject of the negotiation a very able speech. On the Dutch inquiry, moved by Ld. H., Ld. King spoke uncommonly well. Ld. H. was the more pleased, as it was merely out of friendship to him that he prevailed upon himself to conquer his dread of addressing a public assembly. He is a very young man, very handsome, very awkward, and very shy, but very full of most excellent qualities. He is a good son, a warm and generous friend. His principles, political and religious, are inimical to the actual state of those in force. The first are moderated: he was a lover of liberty even to democracy, and still abhors religion to impiety, but the experience that has corrected him of one excess will cure him of the other, and doubtless he will become very like other people.

When the division was coming on, Ld. Liverpool and Ld. Malmesbury and many others called out, 'Pooh, pooh! you won't divide! Why, you will have but three. Pooh, pooh! Don't think of it!' 'Aye, but I will divide!' cried Ld. H. 'If I am single I will have a division'; when, to his great surprise and pleasure, the Duke of Somerset and Ld. Mansfield divided with him, besides King and Bessborough. Ld. Camelford did the same, but pique against Ld. Grenville explains his conduct.

From several conversations I had alone this summer with the D. of Somerset I collected that he was, tho' not disposed towards Opposition, yet averse to Ministers. He is a sensible man, inclined to act upon his own judgment: his manner, from shyness, is against him. I suspect that he has a love of fun in him, for he told me that he was occupied in persuading Lewis to write a book on moral philosophy, as he was certain from the opinions he heard from Lewis that it would be at least entertaining. 'For,' says he, 'he calls *virtues* what the world holds in abhorrence as great vices, and these paradoxes

he maintains so strangely that I cannot illustrate them stronger than by telling you that he confesses himself surprised that Wilberforce should have published his book after *The Monk*. He thinks it great want of taste to give a system of morality in a dry, forbidding form, whereas "*mine* is given in a popular, pleasing manner, which diverts whilst it instructs, and is adapted to every capacity."' Yesterday when he came in to dinner Lds. Boringdon and Amherst lifted up their hands in a manner to upbraid him for his vote the night before, but he rather showed an unwillingness to be tutored. Again, during a dinner, Ld. B. leant across me to tell him he was a rival to Julian. I immediately said, 'I see no apostasy in being guided by good sense and not biassed by interest.' Ld. B. said no more, and the Duke looked thanks for the reproof. Again Ld. B. asked how he meant to vote upon a question which is coming on. The question is improper to ask, and the Duke replied very well, 'I shall decide when I hear the arguments on both sides.'

We had a numerous party; Sir James St. Clair is lately returned from Minorca, of which place he gives but a sorry account. His wife is handsome; she did not love him when they first married, but his good nature has conquered her dislike, and she is almost in love with him. In most marriages a material change occurs in the course of ten years, but she has the merit of *singularity* in hers. Ld. Lorne is an old favourite of mine; his good humour, cheerfulness, and ease is quite charming. Lewis' lines in an epilogue to *Barbarossa*, which they acted at Inverary, are very descriptive of him:—

And Lord Lorne's easy air, when he got in a passion,
Proved a tyrant must needs be a person of fashion.
He seemed much at home through the whole of the play;
He died in a style that was quite *dégagé*.
And his orders for murder, disclosed by their tone,
'Twas the same if he gave them or let them alone.

14*th Feb.*, 1800.—Bob Heathcote came for the first time. 'A fool and his money are soon parted.' Most of his is squandered at the gaming table, Newmarket, rare editions, sums lent to ——, splendid dinners, and, in short, in every way that it can go. He is, however, very good-natured, and not conceited—merits that cover a thousand blemishes, and in society make up for most deficiencies.

A few days back Mr. Kinnaird,[1] eldest son of Ld. Kinnaird, dined here for the first time. Being a Scotchman and having studied in a Scotch University, report puffs him high, of course. Tho' it overdoes his deserts, yet he merits some praise. He is clever and willing to please; one cannot pity him for *shyness*, as he labours under no embarrassment upon that score. Living in the world will set his head right and render him useful. He is an eager politician against Ministers.

Ld. H. is gone down to the H. of Lords, as a message from the King to subsidise the *German* Princes is before the House. It is conjectured that our magnanimous ally, the Imperial Paul, is deserting the cause he espoused so vehemently; whilst we are to continue fighting until 'experience and the evidence of facts' render a peace proper with Bonaparte. One of the finest passages in Mr. Fox's speech was where he took up the expression of those who gave for reason the not negotiating immediately, that 'we should *pause*.' He described with energy the calamities of war, the villages sacked, cattle destroyed, the field of battle covered with agonised victims weltering in their blood, who, if questioned as to the cause they were fighting in, could not answer as in other wars, 'ambition,' 'aggrandisement of territory,' etc., etc.

[1] Hon. Charles Kinnaird (1780–1826), eldest son of George, seventh Baron Kinnaird. He succeeded his father in 1805, and married the following year Lady Olivia Fitzgerald, youngest daughter of William Robert, second Duke of Leinster. He sat in the House of Commons for Leominster from 1802 to 1805.

'No, we fight because the English Ministers are doubtful as to the moral qualities of Bonaparte.'

Lord Carlisle is mightily disposed to vote against the Ministers, a propensity which gives his son great alarm, as he is riveted to all the dogmas of the Ministerial creed, the necessity of the war, faith in the prowess of Suwarrow, the infallibility of Mr. Pitt, etc., etc.

General Fitzpatrick has published his letters to Lord Kenyon.[1] Previous to doing so he sent them to the King, accompanied by a letter calculated to delight him, appealing to him as the head of the school of honour and chief among gentlemen. The motto to the publication is very happy; it is taken from Kenyon's own speech on the trial of Horne Tooke in 1792: 'Mr. Horne Tooke, I cannot sit here to hear names calumniated and vilified, persons who are not in this case, persons who are absent, and cannot defend themselves. A Court of Justice is no place for calumny. You must see the impropriety of it, and it does not become the feelings of an honourable mind.'

I heard of a great trait of Scotch nationality. At a dinner at the Chief Baron's,[2] where Sylvester Douglas[3] was, the news, just then fresh, of Bonaparte's seizure of

[1] The subject of this correspondence was a remark of Lord Kenyon in June 1799, when in dealing with a case, Host *v.* Whalley, he mentioned that General Fitzpatrick had lost 400*l.* or 500*l.* in a gaming house, which he refused to pay, and animadverted somewhat severely on his conduct. General Fitzpatrick, in his first letter, dated August 27, 1799, denied that these were the true facts. He stated his reasons for refusing to discharge his debt for the present to Mr. Martindale, an undischarged bankrupt, and informed him that he had the latter's sanction to the course he was taking. He said he hoped, therefore, that Lord Kenyon would take an early opportunity of correcting his statement, but as he did not do so, he wrote again, on January 20, that his only course was to publish his letters. These appeared in the *True Briton*, March 5, 1800.

[2] Sir Archibald Macdonald, Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

[3] Sylvester Douglas (1743–1823), created Lord Glenbervie in 1800.

the Governt. was mentioned, upon which both the Scotchmen at the same moment inquired, 'And what did Macdonald [1] do?'

The Prince of Wales is supposed to be dying: whatever his illness may be besides, revived love for Mrs. Fitzherbert has aggravated and added to the measure of it. Mde. de Coigny says it's like a *rondeau*, in which variations are made *ad libitum*, but the return is to the first air. He had a numerous dinner last week, composed solely of parsons; whether this was fun or fear is uncertain. If he had been in a vein for the former, it might have been indulged, as no set of men abhor each other with more heartfelt hatred than those pious brethren; each is in the way of the other, like an overloaded market in Bengal of English beauties. The other night at D. House he fell back in his chair and pointed to have his neckcloth loosened; fortunately Farquhar was there, and ordered proper remedies for his recovery.

The French have played a very good trick in return for our publishing the intercepted letters. They pretend to have found hidden in the wall of a house belonging to a Chouan chief, letters written by Pitt, Windham, etc., to recommend the Royalists to make peace with the Republicans at any rate, and then break it when the English succours arrive. This may be a *real* correspondence, but if not, *è bene trovato*.

Menzini,[2] the satirist, was derided for his poverty by an insolent and haughty Cardinal, who from his balcony perceived him walking, shabbily dressed. The Cardinal expressed his contempt in the lines of Petrarch:—

Povera e nuda vai Filosofia.

[1] Jacques Etienne Macdonald (1765–1840), one of Napoleon's generals; made a Marshal, and created Duke of Tarento, after Wagram.

[2] Benedetto Menzini (1646–1704), Italian poet and satirist.

Menzini, with great quickness, replied by the next line of the poet :—

Dice la turba al vil guadagno intesa.

Caraccioli said of England, ' Que c'était un pays où il y avoit mille religions, et qu'une sauce.'

M. de Lauragais [1] said of it, ' Qu'il n'y avoit rien de poli que l'acier, point de fruits mûrs que les pommes cuites.'

1*st March*, 1800.—Within these last ten or twelve days Mrs. Beauclerk and Mrs. Smith have each added their individual contributions to the population of the world : a little Mimi, and a still smaller boy are the production.

Tierney told me of a circumstance which had been conveyed to him *from authority*. At one of the dinners given by the Comte d'Artois to Pitt and the Cabinet Ministers, the Cte. expressed his astonishment and indignation *to* Pitt, that a man possessing such principles as Mr. Tierney does, and uttering all that his turbulent and discontented disposition gives rise to, was allowed to go about ; that such a man in a well-regulated Governt. should be confined, and not allowed to be at large to preach politics. Pitt replied that Mr. Tierney was a member of Parliament, a very loyal subject, and respectable in his private character. This was said drily, and intended as a reproof to a very ill-judged question. Nothing could show a greater want of taste and knowledge of English customs, than to abuse a member of Parliament to the Prime Minister of England, and tho' I would not detract from Mr. Pitt, yet his defence of Tierney was such as the occasion extorted, and ought to have been made for any man in Parliament who has not outraged the laws. Even Sir Francis Burdett is as yet

[1] Louis Léon de Brancas, Duc de Lauragais (1733–1824), French *savant* and writer.

entitled to a similar justification. The Cte. d'Artois (at present, according to the *ancien régime*, Monsieur) is a man of slender abilities with violent passions; before the Revolution he was weak and volatile, he is now weak and revengeful.

Bonaparte gives fresh proofs every day of his talents for governing, both in his disposition to conciliate and resist. He has issued letters to recall most of the emigrant nobles who have not borne arms against their country, infants, women, and priests; he manifests a strong determination to fight as well as he did formerly, and not allow of anything being wrested from the nation.

There is upon record a very curious fact, that well considered might abate the ardour of those who are disposed to fight on for the Restoration 'of the line of Hereditary Princes,' as it shows that that event would not in all probability induce France to fall back within her ancient limits—one of the objects proposed by the restoration of ye Bourbons. Upon the restoration of Charles II., the Spaniards applied to the English Court for the surrender of Jamaica, upon the ground of its being conquered by an usurper.[1] The English Ministers submitted the question to the ablest civilians in the country, and they were unanimous in their opinion that whatever conquest had been achieved by the arms of G. Britain, whether under lawful or usurped authority, *that* acquisition, once annexed and become an integral part of the Dominion, it was safe to maintain even by force of arms. And can it seriously be supposed, first, that the French nation will ever receive a Monarch forced upon them at the point of the bayonet by the allied armies, knowing that the incentive that provokes those allies is the partition of France? And, 2ndly, admitting

[1] The island was captured by the English in 1655.

the restoration were practicable, would the Kings, whose object would be popularity, venture to dismember their country? Why, even the unhappy emigrants, starving and exiled, feel triumph and exultation at every victory obtained by their countrymen.

Washington died towards the close of the year 1799. His name will stand high in the page of history, and posterity will be apt to outstep truth to bestow enthusiastic eulogy upon him, who has been great from his mediocrity. Mankind delight in assigning deep designs to very obvious facts. We shall hear of his being the first among generals, legislators, patriots, and practical philosophers, of his integrity, his disinterestedness in sacrificing to the public, of his well understood ambition in preferring a *splendid obscurity* to elevated insignificancy; in short, what will not be said except the truth—a plain, painstaking, plodding man, whose profession of land surveyor taught him a smattering of mixed mathematics which became useful when military positions were to be conceived, a mild, even temper, that neither offended nor captivated. So much will be said, and hitherto so little has been said, that I shall wait and hear. All France and America mourned at his death.

Canning sent to beg we would fix a day that he might dine here. He came, we had only Lds. G. Leveson, Boringdon, and Ly. Bess. Went off very agreeably. He was witty upon the new Institution,[1] which is a very bad imitation of the *Institut* at Paris; hitherto there is only one Professor, who is a jack-of-all-trades, as he lectures alike upon chemistry and shipbuilding.

When Horne Tooke harangued the electors of Westminster from the hustings he was often put out by one of

[1] The Royal Institution, founded in March 1799 by Count Rumford, Sir Joseph Banks, and others. It was incorporated January 13, 1800, by royal charter.

the mob closing his sentences with a nasal 'Amen.' This ridiculous finale did him more mischief than all the arguments of his adversaries to prove his incapacity, on account of having taken Priest's orders, and now the Bishop of London refuses to induct him because he is a layman. He is ingenious enough, I doubt not, to reconcile these seeming contradictions.[1]

Hare, joking with Ld. H. upon his small divisions, some of which have been composed of Ld. King and himself only, says he ought to say, 'Ego et *Rex* meus.'

Marquis de la Rivière[2] has with a degree of superabundant loyal zeal, vexed me. At dinner here he overheard me telling Calonne the story of the Cte. d'Artois asking Pitt why a man like Tierney was not shut up. He straight went and asked Monsieur if it was true; he, of course, said *no*, and contradicted it plump. This contradiction Rivière believes implicitly, and wrote me a formal denial of the charge. This provokes me, as I hate being made a party in a *tracasserie*, and still more hate having named any person. However, the thing is of no importance, because I certainly credit Tierney's statement in preference to Monsieur's asseveration to the contrary.

I was childish enough last night to go and see the new play; it was almost my first *sortie* from my couch,

[1] Horne Tooke opposed Fox and Sir Alan Gardner at Westminster in the election of 1796, and was returned at the bottom of the poll. He was ordained in 1760, at his father's bidding, but did very little clerical duty. After he obtained a seat in Parliament for Old Sarum in 1801, a bill was brought in by Addington declaring the ineligibility of clergy. This was passed, but Tooke was allowed to retain his seat until the end of that Parliament.

[2] Charles François de Riffardeau, Marquis de Rivière (1763–1828). He left France with the Comte d'Artois, but returning was implicated in the Cadoudal conspiracy in 1804, and was condemned to death. The sentence was commuted by Napoleon to perpetual imprisonment, and it was not until the Restoration that he regained his liberty. He was Ambassador at Constantinople from 1816 to 1820.

but I am not punished for the imprudence, as I have been perfectly well all day. I found Lewis in my box; he is the only person I give leave to enter at all times. He was just returned from Cambridge, where he had heard Ld. Henry Petty deliver a declamation, composed in the very best taste, full of feeling and ingenuity.

I have been reading Le Brun's journey to Persepolis in 1704, the ruins of which (Persepolis) seem equal to anything of antiquity in point of solidity, size, and extent.

In future times when this little island shall have fallen into its natural insignificancy, by being no longer possessed of a fictitious power founded upon commerce, distant colonies, and other artificial sources of wealth, how puzzled will the curious antiquary be when seeking amidst the ruins of London vestiges of its past grandeur? Acres now covered by high, thin walls of brick, making streets *tirés à cordon*, divided into miserable, straitened, scanty houses, will, when decayed, crumble into a vast heap of brick-dust. No proud arch to survive the records of history, no aqueduct to prove how much the public was considered by ye Governt., no lofty temples, no public works! St. Paul's anywhere would be a grand edifice; finer as a ruin than in its present state, disfigured with casements, whitewashed walls, pews, etc. The bridges alone would strike the eye as fine remains; they are magnificent. The reason of the meanness of everything throughout England proceeds from two causes. One is the scantiness of materials for great works, viz., stone and marble; second is, that commerce begets independence, from whence springs selfishness and the wish to enjoy what you acquire. Hence there is no ambition, no desire of perpetuating by great works fame to posterity.

Hobhouse,[1] who dined here last week for the first time, is a leading man among the Dissenters. He and Mr. Wm. Smith have written controversial books, and he has distinguished his own sect by the denomination of *Humanitarians*, not to be confounded with Unitarians. Priestley, in fact, is the founder of their doctrines, which doctrines they say are drawn from the New Testament in conformity with the primitive practice of Christianity. They assert that most points of faith in the Established Church proceed from the corruptions of Christianity. Christ they believe to have been the son of Joseph and Mary, but that he became inspired by a divine gift. They deny the Trinity, original sin, and the soul; their paradise is composed of material objects, not admitting the separation of soul and body. The Bible they hold to be an historical chronicle, Moses merely a legislator, the Prophets inspired darkly announcing Christ.

Sheridan by chance dined here on Friday, with a whole troop of Frenchmen. I was afraid he would be annoyed, as he does not speak French (which is the strangest thing imaginable for a man in his situation), but he, on the contrary, was pleased with his party. The company were ye Archevêque de Bordeaux, Calonne, Rivière, and Mr. Lattin. He was diverted at seeing the Archevêque laugh heartily at some sallies which might have shocked a bigot or a prude.

Crébillon Père, when upon his deathbed, sent for his son. 'Ah! mon fils, est-ce donc bien vrai que vous soyez un de ces philosophes à la mode, qui veulent le bouleversement de la religion?' He drew from behind his pillow a crucifix, and pointing to it, 'Vous voulez donc

[1] Sir Benjamin Hobhouse (1757–1831), son of John Hobhouse, of Bristol, and father of John Cam Hobhouse, created Lord Broughton. He sat in Parliament from 1797 until 1818, and was made a Baronet in 1812.

détruire ce qu'il lui a tant coûté pour établir ? ' This story Condorcet used to be very fond of telling.

Lady Ann Hatton speculates upon marrying Lord Abercorn. Lady Bessborough, who is all credulity, believes *de bonne foi* that this marriage will take place ; even I, who am incredulous, have doubts in his favour, provided what I am told is true, such as, that Ld. A. has taken his daughters to visit their future mother. Beauclerk thinks Ly. Ann dreams, and imparts the vision to Lady B. for facts. Ld. Morpeth behaves admirably, but has wisely not given in a *contre projet* to the project upon the *tapis*. For a moment I thought the marriage story with Ld. A. was a scheme to obtain a real one from him, but *nous verrons*. Tho' I do not particularly like Ly. Ann, I shall be glad to see her rescued from the humiliating state she is in ; neglect, poverty, and discredit are horrid sufferances. If she closes her career with one of the greatest matches in the kingdom, I don't know how young women will credit wise precepts of ' virtue alone is rewarded,' etc. She is 36, her appearance is so youthful that no one guesses her to be above 24, if so much. Her figure is light, airy, and graceful ; Hare says she has a sort of vivacity that raises your expectations, but what she says is so flat that it damps curiosity.

Bonaparte allows of the return of the emigrants ; I almost fear he extends that indulgence too far. Once restored to their possessions they will long for their titles, and a King will be the fountain of honour. The Duc de Liancourt has obtained all his estates which were not sold, and those of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld ; this makes him among the number of the richest individuals in Europe.[1]

[1] The Duc de la Rochefoucauld was killed in 1792 by the revolutionaries at Gisors. The Duc de Liancourt was his first cousin.

A very profligate man, who was an agent of the Duc de Richelieu in all his vicious debaucheries, said in a company one day where Talleyrand (L'Évêque d'Autun) was, how much he was injured by the calumnies propagated against him, 'Et vraiment je n'ai jamais fait qu'une méchanceté de ma vie.' Talleyrand, with calm indifference, replied, 'Et quand finira-t-elle?' I rather think the man's name was Rulhière.[1]

Talleyrand is remarkable for his cold sarcasms. When M. de Narbonne was Minister at War, Mde. de Staël was his protecting mistress, she guided everything; and one day at a Council of War, at which, very improperly, she was present, each Minister gave their opinion upon the different projects proposed for the plan of attack by some generals. She delivered, among the rest, hers with great warmth and decision; when she had finished she turned to Talleyrand, and said, 'Why, you do not say a word! What do you think?' He coldly replied, 'C'est que je ne m'y entends nullement dans les affaires militaires.' This bitter reproof vexed her to a degree of passion that she burst into tears; she merited the chastisement, for 'qu'avait-elle à faire dans ce galère-là?'

An excellent pamphlet, called *Observations upon the Preface to the intercepted correspondence,* contains some witty and severe strictures upon Canning's highly absurd arguments contained in said preface. It has been imputed to Grey, Lds. Wycombe, Holland, and to Tierney. Ld. H. admired it so much that his uncle Fitzpatrick said he could not resist telling him it was his, but it is a profound secret.

Mr. Fox is employed in writing the history of some ate period in the British annals, but whether King William's reign or Charles II., I am not certain, but I

[1] Claude Carloman de Rulhière (1735–1791), a French writer, was aide-de-camp to the Maréchal de Richelieu for some years.

rather believe the latter.[1] I sent him by his desire some books upon the subject, Ld. Grey's narrative of the Rye House Plot, Baxter's *Life* of himself, and I have proposed to him various other miscellaneous tracts. A philosophical history from such a pen will be beyond praise, but I much fear his habitual indolence will interfere too much to allow a shadow of hope that he will finish a section even.

Ld. H. has a quality in common with him that is very serviceable in many ways—a great enduring patience in listening to the arguments of any fool, however great, and of always doing his best to answer them ; of never allowing himself to feel, 'Why exert myself for this fellow ?' Fox says he always likes to hear the opinion of a fool, as he gets by it two opinions, that of the person who gave him the opinion, and his own as he adopts it.

General Smith lost a great deal of money at Brookes' ; to dissipate his chagrin he walked about the room, and at length joined in a conversation upon religion. 'For my part,' said he, 'I cannot understand what they mean with their *Trinity* and *Holy Ghost.*' 'I wonder at that,' replied General Fitzpatrick, 'as the symbol is a pigeon.'

The General is less remarkable for brilliant repartees than Hare, but all he says shows a profound knowledge of the world, life, manners, and character ; his observations are mostly just and expressed in the best and purest language, adorned with an undescribable good taste. His conversation and writings remind me of

[1] His *History of James II.*, which was published, after his death, in 1808, with a preface by Lord Holland. Lord Brougham, in his *Statesmen of the time of George III.*, says of his writings, 'The practice of composition seems never to have been familiar to Mr. Fox. . . . His *History* shows the same want of expertness in composition. The style is pure and correct, but cold and lifeless ; it is even somewhat abrupt and discontinuous, so little does it flow naturally or with ease.'

Addison. Leave out the morality and piety, and the two characters are the same: mild, gentlemanlike, and each possessing chaste humour. The General is by far the better poet of the two. I am told that my taste is corrupted by that which prevails, but I think energy of expression is oftentimes wanting in both of the above styles.

North,[1] the Bishop of Winchester's son, Ld. H.'s old friend, brought his wife to dine here some days ago. She is pretty rather, but looks sour-tempered.

Bread is 17 pence the quartern loaf, coals six guineas the chaldron, turkeys 16 shillings, capons 8s. 6d., meat dearer than usual. During this scarcity, be it natural or artificial, we adopt the regulations of the H. of Lords; each person in the family is limited to a quartern loaf per week, no pastry, no fine bread for breakfast.

19*th March*, 1800.—A satirical poem called *The Campaign* is just published; it abuses the Duke of York and the Dutch Expedition. It is imputed to Mr. Courtenay,[2] an old member of Opposition, a man of great coarseness, but some wit. In the House of Commons some supporter of Mr. Pitt's Administration complimented him on having conducted the machine of Government with such success, in spite of the *drag chain* of Opposition. Mr. Courtenay, in his reply, remarked

[1] Rev. Francis North (1772–1861), afterwards sixth Earl of Guilford. He was eldest son of the Hon. Brownlow North and Henrietta Maria, daughter of John Bannister. His father held successively the sees of Lichfield (1771), Worcester (1774), and Winchester (1781), and died in 1820. Mr. North married, in 1798, Esther, daughter of Rev. John Harrison, who died childless in 1823. He married, secondly, in 1826, Harriet, daughter of Lieut.-General Sir Henry Warde, G.C.B. On the death of his cousin Frederick, fifth Earl of Guilford, in 1827, who never married, he succeeded to the earldom.

[2] John Courtenay (1741–1816), son of William Courtenay. He was private secretary to Lord Townshend in Ireland, and was returned by him in 1780 for Tamworth, for which place he sat until 1796. From that year until 1807 he was member for Appleby.

upon the beauty and correctness of ye metaphor, since the machine was confessedly going downhill.

22nd March.—Erskine and Mr. Lattin (and a foolish, handsome Irishman, Mr. Henry) dined, and were extremely entertaining yesterday. Erskine, I have always found hitherto far from agreeable, but yesterday was an exception. He talked strangely upon religion; he pretends to Christianity, but the Mother Church would not take him into her bosom. Bishops and churches, he declares, have destroyed true religion; had he the power of Christ he would drive the *doctors* out of the *Temple* as he did, and out of Lincoln's Inn besides. The Church Establishment he maintains to be the total ruin of the simple, primitive worship. The Trinity he explains with ingenuity, and reprobates the Incomprehensible Mystery of three separate and individual persons.

The little Monk Lewis has behaved like a great fool, and made himself highly ridiculous. He sent to the Duke of Somerset and desired he would *wait upon him* the next day at 1 o'clock. The Duke obeyed the summons, and *did wait* upon him. 'I understand, D. of Somerset, that you have exposed me to the contempt of being again blackballed by the New Club. I think the part you have acted by so doing unbecoming the character of a friend; thus I desire our acquaintance may drop here.' He rung the bell, and bid the servant open the door for the D., and thus dismissed him. The D. of S. is remarkably good-natured, and most certainly did what he thought Lewis would like, but, poor little man, he is very irritable and quarrelsome, and will shortly be left not only friendless, but without many acquaintances.

This Institution[1] of Rumford's furnishes ridiculous stories. The other day they tried the effect of the gas,

[1] The Royal Institution.

so poetically described by Beddoes; it exhilarates the spirits, distends the vessels, and, in short, gives life to the whole machine. The first subject was a corpulent, middle-aged gentleman, who, after inhaling a sufficient dose, was requested to describe to the company his sensations; 'Why, I only feel stupid.' This intelligence was received amidst a burst of applause, most probably not for the novelty of the information. Sir Coxe Hippisley was the next who submitted to the operation, but the *effect* upon him was so *animating* that the ladies tittered, held up their hands, and declared themselves satisfied. The experiment to remove the popular prejudice in favour of silver teapots failed, as the thermometer gave the lie to the Professor's learned dissertations, but it must have been from the malice of his evil genius, for the fact is in his favour.

The Bishop of Killala's [1] narrative of what passed in the town and neighbouring district whilst the French were in possession of it in '98 under Humbert, is extremely interesting. It is written simply, with a great appearance of truth and feeling. His palace was the headquarters of the General and his officers. He speaks with highest admiration of their humanity, civility, and incredible discipline. There is even humour in his description of some of the scenes, particularly that in which he describes the mixture of mirth and contempt with which the French officer thrust indiscriminately upon the noddles of the Irish the gaudy helmets. He yields the palm of superiority to the English for their *dexterity* in pillaging and in plunder; indeed compared with every European army, save the Papal one, it is the only

[1] Joseph Stock (1740–1813), appointed Bishop of Killala in 1798, and transferred to Waterford and Lismore in 1810. Lord Holland, in his *Memoirs of the Whig Party*, states that this pamphlet was supposed to have interfered with his chances of promotion.

excellence in candour we can admit them to lay claim to.

Great embarkations are making at Plymouth of the Guards and other troops. Their destination is not known, but rumour says they go to the Mediterranean. Were I not satisfied how *harmless* an English military force is against an enemy in battle array, I should wish contrary winds to waft them leagues out of their course, if they are destined for Egypt ; but they inspire as little alarm to their enemies as they do confidence in their countrymen, for they are, as one of their commanders in Ireland said publicly of them, 'Formidable only to their friends.'

This house[1] has contained many remarkable and interesting persons ; there are curious stories about its origin. Some say it was a nunnery, others, that it was built by a *Cope* in the reign of Philip and Mary. It came by marriage into the possession of Rich, Earl of Holland.[2] He was a most accomplished and gallant cavalier, and so amiable that Charles I. conceived a jealousy against him, probably not totally without foundation. In consequence of this he was confined by order to his house, but his Royal mistress refused to cohabit with the King until her favourite chamberlain was at large. During his residence here Van Dyke passed a year with him,

[1] Holland House.

[2] Henry Rich (1590–1649), second son of Robert, Earl of Warwick, and his wife Penelope Rich (the 'Stella' of Sir Philip Sidney). A favourite with James I., he was, in 1623, created Baron Kensington, having married Isabel, daughter and heiress of Sir Walter Cope, who had built what was then called Cope Castle in 1607. There was probably a house near, if not on the same site, but this was removed in order to make way for Sir Walter's mansion, erected from designs of John Thorpe. Rich was raised to an earldom in 1624. Lady Holland has somewhat exaggerated his intimacy with the Queen, but he certainly owed his rapid advancement at Court greatly to her favour after James' death.

and probably painted some of those portraits which now decorate most of the best collections in England.[1] There is a very fine portrait of ye Earl of Holland, done by this celebrated artist, in the possession of Lord Breadalbane, at Taymouth.[2] It represents him in the prime and beauty of manhood, arrayed in the apparel of a bridegroom, such as he was when he represented his Royal Master at the Court of France to the lovely Henrietta Maria. His left leg is covered with white satin, it being the one put into bed to the bride when Royal marriages are made by proxy. He held employments of considerable trust, but was accounted wavering in his politics and irritable in his temper. He retired here just when the Civil war broke out, in disgust. Clarendon says, 'He was visited by all the disaffected Members of Parliament, who held frequent meetings at Holland House.' Some time after, when the Civil war was at its height, he offered to join the King's party at Oxford, but being coldly received he returned to the Parliament forces. On 6th August, 1647, 'The Members of Parliament who were driven from Westminster by tumult met General Fairfax at Holland House and subscribed to the declaration of the Army, etc.'[3] Some ascribe his desertion of the Royal cause to

[1] Sir James Mackintosh, in a fragment of a *History of Holland House*, preserved among the MSS., says that Van Dyke lived there for about two years. He produces no authority, however, for this statement, nor is the fact referred to in any recent biography of the great painter.

[2] This picture, as well as that of his brother, Robert, Earl of Warwick, now belongs to the Hon. Mrs. Baillie Hamilton, a granddaughter of the first Marquess of Breadalbane, at Langton, Duns. Lady Mary Rich, daughter of Lord Holland, married, in 1657, Sir John Campbell, of Glenorchy, who was created Earl of Breadalbane and Holland in 1681. Lady Holland is, however, mistaken in her description of the picture. Lord Warwick is in court dress, while Lord Holland wears the leather doublet and steel breast-plate of the period.

[3] These passages are not from Clarendon. They both are quoted in Faulkner's *History of Kensington*, published in 1820. The latter of them is there said to be taken from a journal of the time, the *Perfect Diurnal*.

his hatred of Ld. Strafford. He gave a proof of his wish to restore it; in consequence of which he was taken prisoner, confined to his house, and dragged to execution the 9th of March, 1648–9. His body is buried in Kensington Church. In the July following, Lambert, then General of the army, fixed his headquarters here. It was restored to the family of Rich. When the Puritans shut up public theatres, the actors used to act at the houses of the nobility, and this house is mentioned as having frequently been the scene of much dramatic mirth and festivity.

Addison was tutor to the Earl of Warwick.[1] He married the Countess, his mother, a marriage which made no addition to his happiness; it neither found them nor made them equal. She always remembered her own rank, and thought herself entitled to treat with very little ceremony the tutor of her son. Rowe's ballad of despairing love is said to have been written either before or after marriage upon this memorable pair, and it is certain Addison has left behind him no encouragement for ambitious love. There is a pretty little poem by Rowe upon the occasion of his first visit to Holland House to see the Countess of Warwick. It is said by some author, 'Holland House is a large mansion, but

[1] Henry, Earl of Holland's elder brother, Robert, became second Earl of Warwick in 1618. On his death in 1658 the title passed in succession to his sons Robert and Charles. The latter died in 1673, and leaving no male issue the earldom passed to his cousin Robert, second Earl of Holland, who had succeeded his father in 1649. He died two years later, and both titles passed to his son Edward, who married Charlotte, daughter of Sir Thomas Middleton (afterwards wife of Addison), while his daughter married Francis Edwardes of Haverfordwest. Edward, Earl of Holland and Warwick, died in 1701, and was succeeded by his only son Edward Henry, above mentioned. On his death, unmarried, in 1721, the properties passed to William Edwardes, his first cousin, who was created Baron Kensington in 1776, while the earldoms reverted to a distant cousin, at whose death the titles became extinct.

could not contain Mr. Addison, the Countess of Warwick, and one guest, Peace.' During his residence here the house was frequented by the wits and poets of the time, Pope, Tickell, Steele. Upon his deathbed he sent for Gay, with whom he had had little previous intercourse. He told him he had injured him, but would recompense him if he recovered : 'What the injury was, he did not explain.' Lord Warwick was a disorderly young man, and had received without heed the advice of Addison, who used his utmost to reclaim his morals and mend his life ; when he found himself dying he sent for him, 'That he might see how a Christian can die.' [1] He expired under this roof in 1719.

> Thou hill, whose brow the antique structures grace
> Rear'd by bold chiefs of Warwick's noble race,
> Why, once so loved, whene'er thy bower appears,
> O'er my dim eyeballs glance the sudden tears !
> How sweet were once thy prospects fresh and fair,
> Thy sloping walks and unpolluted air !
> How sweet the glooms beneath thy aged trees,
> Thy noontide shadows, and thy evening breeze !
> His image thy forsaken bowers restore ;
> Thy walks and airy prospects charm no more ;
> No more the summer in thy glooms allay'd
> Thy evening breezes, and thy noonday shade.
>
> *Tickell, on the death of Addison.*

And again in his *Kensington Garden* :—

> Where now the skies high Holland House invades
> And short-lived Warwick sadden'd all the shades.

Johnson repeats with great indignation Mandeville's observation upon Addison. It was that he appeared to him like a parson in a tye wig : a laughable and, I daresay, a true remark.

[1] Horace Walpole, in a letter to George Montagu (May 16, 1759), writes, 'Unluckily, he died of brandy.'

In 1762, Henry Fox, Secretary of State (afterwards Lord Holland), inhabited, and shortly after purchased this house.[1] During his life it was frequently the resort of the great politicians. Sir Robert Walpole, unless he died before, was certainly a frequent visitor, at least he was a friend; Lds. Bute and Chatham, etc. Lady Sarah Lennox resided with her sister Ly. H.[2] at the period of the present King's love, a love that might have elevated her to the throne, but for her levity and total disregard for appearances. Both Ld. and Ly. Holland died here. During his long illness he one day forbade admittance to all his friends who might call, with the exception only of George Selwyn, 'For if I am alive I shall be very happy to see him, and if I am dead he will be very glad to see me,' alluding to George Selwyn's extraordinary passion for beholding death in any shape. He rarely missed the sight of an execution. He was supposed to have incensed George II. extremely by having indulged this curiosity about Queen Caroline, to obtain a sight of whose corpse he concealed himself under the bed, and during the absence at night of the attendants examined the body. George II. had such an aversion to him that he always called him '*That rascal George.*' Selwyn once overheard him and exclaimed, 'What can that mean? Rascal! Oh! I forgot that it was a hereditary title of the Georges.' The King (George III.) the year after he had been at G. Selwyn's house at Matson (famous in history for the escape of Charles I.) went mad. G. Selwyn upon this observed, 'that it was odd enough that the only

[1] 'In 1749 it was let on lease, at a rent of 182*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.*, to Henry Fox, first Lord Holland, who bought it in 1767' (Princess Liechtenstein's *Holland House*).

[2] Lady Georgina Caroline Fox, created Baroness Holland in 1762, was Charles, second Duke of Richmond's eldest daughter. She died in 1774, twenty-three days after her husband's death.

two Kings that had visited Matson had *both lost their heads*.'

This singular marriage of Lady Ann's is going on rapidly, nay, the nuptials are to take place in the course of this week; but till the holy knot is tied, I confess such mystery hangs upon the affair that I shall continue withholding my full belief. He consults Ly. B. about the equipages, fêtes that are to be given upon the occasion, etc., and yet insists upon her keeping her promise of secrecy, and even goes so far as to beg she will contradict the report if she hears it. He was always supposed to be a little cracked, and his pride is beyond belief. When travelling in Italy during the life of his uncle and he was only Mr. Hamilton, to distinguish himself he left upon his cards, 'D'Hamilton, Comte Héréditaire d'Abercorn.' His language is so *outré* from the manners of common life that it would appear caricatured and *chargé'd* even upon the stage. Should the union really take place, the first step will be a rupture between Ly. Ann, his daughters, and Miss Copley their aunt, as Ly. A. is both violent and peevish, and little disposed to submit to the *gêne* of *bienséance* with regard to them.

I hear from my dear Webby frequently. The others I know are well, but poor Harriet is placed in a cheap school, and will be educated among people and with ideas that certainly are not adapted to her way of life I hope and trust in future.

17th April, 1800.—Abbé de Lille to-day shone. He aimed not at proving himself a political prophet: he contented himself with being a pleasant companion and a poet unique. In conversation he was very amusing; he told several stories about Voltaire, with whom he had been intimate in the early part of his life. The Collège de Montaigne was remarkable for its filthiness; the

régent of it, when the *écoliers* were to act a play, was puzzled at their choice. It was *Mérope*. The female name offended him, and he altered it to *Méropus* : upon which Voltaire said it was in compliment of the place to call it *Mère au puce*, it being the *foyer* of dirt. Necker's conduct in France, he said, was exactly like that of a *Curé*, who at a jovial dinner heard the bell ringing to Vespers, upon which he immediately chanted the Psalm of *Deus in adjutorium meum intende*, etc. ; the people made the response *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto* ; a man next to the *Curé* gave him a *soufflet*, saying if he had not begun the people would not have sung. The application to Necker was that he first sounded the alarm and roused the people of France. At the beginning of the Revolution, when things that now seem insignificant were looked upon as of great importance, two men were overheard talking of the calamities of the country in the Thuileries. One said, 'Ah ! bon Dieu, c'est la fin du monde.' 'Bah ! bah ! ' replied the other, 'Comment donc, Monsr., il y a des exemples ? '

He recited his translation of the fourth book of the *Aeneid* ; the tender passages prove his ignorance of the sentiment he expresses. The famous tirade is admirably rendered.

Lord Abercorn's singular union has at length taken place contrary to every plausible speculation. A few days before it was declared he confided to a friend his intended marriage, without naming the lady. 'The world will be surprised, do not contradict the report, nor deny it.' As soon as the event was public the Queen sent Ly. Ely to Miss Copley [1] to desire her to come to

[1] Sister of Sir Lionel Copley and of Lord Abercorn's first wife, who died in 1791. Her second brother, Joseph, who succeeded to the baronetcy on Sir Lionel's death in 1806, ran away with and married Lord Abercorn's second wife.

Buckingham House. 'I hear that in consequence of this business, that you intend quitting Ld. A.'s house; remember, Miss Copley, that the worse the affair is, the stronger is the necessity of continuing with your nieces, and remember you have my advice and sanction.' This maternal, majestic speech had its effect. Sir Lionel Copley told me both of these anecdotes.

The day of the marriage Ly. A. was sitting with Ly. Bess. talking of the event that was fixed for 8 o'clock in the ensuing eve., when their conversation was interrupted by the entrance of the porter to inform them, 'That Lord Abercorn had just called and left word that Ly. Ann must make haste, as she was to be married at 4.' This intelligence *so* communicated surprised them, but compliance and punctuality are indispensable qualities where Ld. A. is concerned, therefore they obeyed. As soon as the ceremony was over, which was performed at Lord Sudley's,[1] Ld. A. made the Marchioness a low bow, handed his eldest daughter out to his carriage, and went and dined with his own family, whilst the Marchioness went and dined in Cavendish Square, He came with a cavalcade of servants and *flambeaux* to bear off his prize to the Priory.

He is haughty and capricious, with enough of vanity to make him do a generous action, and with a dash of madness to make him do a lively one. Ly. Bess. went down for a few days; she described an evening between the new married pair, which was an exact reproduction of a scene in *The Taming of the Shrew*. To cure a headache he made her play blindman's buff, and the more she complained the more violent he made the sport. A person remarked the livery, which is the same as the younger branches of the Royal Family, and said, 'I suppose your

[1] Lady Ann's brother, who succeeded his father in 1809 as third Earl of Arran (1761–1837).

family took it from them.' 'My family took it from them? No, it was the livery of the Hamiltons before the House of Brunswick had a servant to put it on.' When he told the Dowager Lady Warwick that Sir Wm. Hamilton (her brother) was to marry Mrs. Hart, and that *he* should give her away, she said it was a disgrace to the family, but if done by any of them the deed was fitted to the one who had the blot in his escutcheon and a crack in his skull.

The Duke of Somerset is to marry Ly. Charlotte Hamilton;[1] his mother withholds her consent. She is much older than the Duke. Her superior coquetry has obtained the palm, for his love began with her younger sister, Lady Susan.

A circumstance, half ridiculous, half distressing, embarrassed me last Saturday at Lansdown House. I met an old lover whom I had not set eyes on for 14 years; the last time I beheld him was when he solicited an interview to propose marriage. His mode of making the overture was singular at least. He began by approaching his chair close to mine, and followed this close-quartering with an endearing embrace round my waist; he then complimented me upon my love of literature, and said, 'I love books as much as you do, and we may fairly hope to have a very literary little family.' Tho' barely fifteen years old, the ridicule of the man's proceeding struck me so much that I could scarcely contain my laughter, and my mother did for me that which my own timidity prevented, for he immediately received his final *congé*. He used to write verses upon me, and sent me a copy, with a dog, the turn of which was that

[1] Lord Archibald Hamilton's sister, and eldest daughter of Archibald, ninth Duke of Hamilton. The marriage took place on June 24. She died in 1827. Her youngest sister, Susan, married, in 1803, George, fifth Earl of Dunmore.

as I was afraid of thieves this cur would protect me until I 'a bolder guardian took,' meaning his precious self.

22nd April, 1800.—Ld. Thurlow yesterday in the House of Lords, with every expression of contempt, animadverting upon the folly of the Bills now brought before Parliament, the one for protecting bull baiting, the marriage of a divorced woman with the culprit, etc., addressed himself sarcastically to Lord Auckland, and said, 'And pray, my Lord, why do you not bring in a Bill against ingratitude,' alluding to Ld. A.'s desertion of Ld. North.[1] The reproof was coarse and uncalled for. The Union was debated last night in both Houses. Mr. Grey, in spite of secession, attended and made a very able speech.

The above story of Ld. Thurlow's sarcasm is murdered. The sting lies in the absurdity of attempting to correct moral vices by law, which makes the sneer wittier.

Ly. Ann's change from poverty and dependence to stately grandeur reminds me of the pretty *Epître des Vous et des Tu*, in which Voltaire sketches the delights of his youthful mistress, contrasted with the dull pomp she was surrounded by after a splendid alliance :—

> Philis, qu'est devenu ce temps
> Où dans un fiacre promenée
> Sans laquais, sans ajustements,
> De tes grâces seules ornée, etc.

I invited Mr. Lattin to dine here to-day, and as an inducement mentioned that it was to meet Dr. Parr. He wrote a gallant reply, accompanied by the following

[1] Lord Auckland was Chief Secretary in Ireland under Lord Carlisle, but was included in Lord Shelburne's Government of 1783, and went out of office with Pitt, to whom he attached himself.

verses, which he says are the first he ever wrote in French :—

> L'Histoire nous apprend, que pour être écoutée
> La Sagesse eut recours
> Aux grâces, aux amours,
> Et même de la Fable, à la voix empruntée.
> Mais pour nous persuader, c'est la première fois
> Que la beauté s'adresse
> A la froide sagesse,
> Où Vénus de Minerve ait employé la voix.

27th April.—On Wednesday, ye 23rd, Dr. Parr dined and slept here. He was pleasant enough and not too full of grammatical niceties. I overheard him and Knight condemn various corrupt pronunciations and agree in saying, 'You and I can never pass them : we can never call Xenophon otherwise than Xeno*pho*.'

The French army under Kléber, by a convention between it, Sir Sidney, and the Turks, is to quit Egypt ; the Turks are to furnish transports. The Governt. here are incensed against Sir Sidney ; they complain of the terms, and wish the French had been necessitated to remain and perish from the plague, etc.[1] The plausible objection is, that the Austrians have just come to be dissatisfied at the augmentation of 17,000 efficient, hardy troops to their enemy just at the beginning of the campaign. The magnanimous Emperor of all the Russias is in a passion ; he has written to our Court to insist

[1] The treaty of El Arish was concluded in January. By it the French troops were to be allowed to return to France, without any stipulation as to their non-employment in the future. This was directly contrary to the instructions of the British Government, which only reached Sir Sidney Smith after the conclusion of the peace. The Ministers, however, on hearing that his word was pledged, assented to the Articles, but meanwhile the French victory at Heliopolis over the Turks made them disinclined to accept terms, and the fighting was renewed.

upon the recall of Sir C. Whitworth,[1] who has committed the unpardonable offence of visiting Count Cobenzel, the Austrian Minister; and his Imperial Majesty has besides withdrawn his Russians in our pay. The high pay may however tempt him to relent.[2] About a month ago he sent to Mr. Pitt, Ld. Grenville, and Mr. Huskisson, 3 crosses of the Order of Malta, of which order he has constituted himself the head, altho' one of the fundamental rules requires that every knight should be a Catholic and a bachelor. He is of the Greek Church, and husband to a prolific Empress. The great source of his wrath is about the island of Malta, which he wants to possess, and which we will not agree to his having.

Mr. Grey made his annual motion for reform last Friday.[3] He made it so moderate by softening down the rough edges that Wilberforce and Dr. Laurence voted with him. Sheridan, Sir F. Burdett, Jones,[4] etc., were deterred from attending, as he was what they called *too* moderate. After the debate he came and supped, and slept here. He lamented his own precipitation and bad judgment in urging the measure of secession, and very distinctly declared that whatever blame might attach

[1] Charles, Lord Whitworth (1752–1825), Minister Extraordinary at St. Petersburg from 1788 till 1800. He was raised to the peerage at Paul's own special request, but before the news of the honour arrived the Czar had quarrelled with him and dismissed him from his dominions.

[2] Paul's views on the European question underwent a radical change soon after Napoleon's accession to the Consulate. He conceived a great admiration for the conqueror of Italy, and this feeling was fostered by the latter's action in restoring him 7000 Russian soldiers, clothed in new uniforms, whom the English had refused to include in a cartel of exchange. Instead of the ally he suddenly became the active opponent of England and Austria, seized all British ships in his ports, and ordered Lord Whitworth to retire to Riga.

[3] Grey in his speech disclaimed the fact that the object of his motion was the reform of Parliament, though he owned he wished it was so. As, however, this was impracticable he wished only to try to keep Parliament in its present state.

[4] John Gale Jones (1769–1838), a Radical politician of the advanced school, though by profession a surgeon.

to it, *he* was responsible for, as it was pressed upon Mr. Fox against his opinion and inclination. I conveyed to him very cautiously, that his attendance, unless he had an explicit and a sort of public declaration from Mr. Fox that he wished himself to be considered as null, would not be looked upon as fair; he assured me that Fox had oftentimes urged him to attend.[1] I implied that such an assurance was of course all his *conscience* could require, yet that public opinion demanded more publicity to be given to the wish of Mr. F. than the report of a private conversation; to which he said he never could ask Mr. Fox to declare himself for ever withdrawn from public affairs.

I dined on Saturday, 26th, at L. H. In the morning Ld. Wycombe called upon me; we were standing in the porch just as Ld. Lansdown drove into the iron gate, upon which this dutiful son flew off in a tangent, and exhibited a *scene* before my servants and his father's.

The following verses are written by Lewis, a pretty address from Friendship to Youth :—

> Turn, Wanderer, turn, and rest with me,
> Let not yon glittering fane allure you :
> My temple shall your shelter be,
> My sacred fire from cold secure you.
>
> Nor scorn it, though your dazzled sight
> No burst of lustrous flame surprises
> As with mild warmth and lambent light
> It gently from the altar rises.

[1] Fox, in a letter to Lord Holland, dated March 1798 (*Memorials and Correspondence*), says : 'With regard to secession (that is *declared* secession) I confess I do not like it as a measure, but I believe the Duke of Bedford does. I should dislike to a degree I cannot express to attend again myself : . . . but I am so far from wishing others to do the same, that I even wish for occasions when you and others may have opportunity of attending.' Again, on October 21, he writes : 'The Duke of Bedford, who is here, confirms what you say of Grey's intention to attend occasionally, and I shall not be at all sorry to find myself the sole seceder.'

More vivid fires gild yonder shrine,
More heat and radiance round them casting,
But trust me, Youth, though bright they shine,
Their rage is fierce, their power is blasting.

Ah ! pilgrim, shun the fatal blaze,
Thy forward steps forbear to number ;
The blaze which on *my* altar plays
Gives genial warmth and gentle slumber.

Here Reason as the priestess stands,
Here Tranquil Pleasure often lingers ;
At Friendship's fire then warm thy hands,
At Love's thou'lt surely burn thy fingers !

' Friendship.'

I showed them to Tierney, who parodied them almost offhand as an address from a Warming-Pan to Old Age :—

Turn, dotard, turn, and rest with me,
Let not yon glittering fane allure you :
My presence shall your comfort be,
My sacred fire from cold secure you.

Nor scorn it, though your dazzled sight
No burst of lustrous splendour meets,
As with mild warmth each chilly night
It gently glides between the sheets.

More vivid fires gild yonder shrine,
Their blaze, 'tis true, more fiercely rages,
But, know, they give, unlike to mine,
More smoke than heat at certain ages.

Ah ! shun then their delusive blaze,
Thy forward steps forbear to number,
The flame which on *my* altar plays
Gives genial warmth and gentle slumber.

Turn, turn, from love and such repose,
Nurse what of life within thee lingers,
With me at least thou'lt warm thy toes,
With Love thou'lt only burn thy fingers.

' Warmingpan.'

5*th May*.—Last week Ld. H. made a motion in the H. of Lords in favour of the Catholics, to obtain what they call their emancipation.[1] Lord Lansdown, like a sly old politician, was glad of an opportunity of saying something on behalf of the Catholics, mingled with a praise of the Union, so that should the Union fail, he may say, 'I foresaw that ye measure, without granting the Catholics their demands, would prove a mischievous one'; and if it should succeed he may say, 'I supported Ministers on it.' In his speech he made several heartfelt compliments to Ld. H. He said that whenever he differed in opinion from him he doubted the rectitude of his own judgment; for of his excellent abilities, he added, the House were competent to judge, but of the goodness of his heart those only who had the happiness of knowing him in private could estimate the value. He went on in this strain for near ten minutes. The whole debate was flat, none were in spirits; Ld. H. was unwell, and more than usually chilled by the deadness of his audience. Tierney declares that accustomed as he is to act singly in the H. of Commons, yet he could not bear up in the H. of Lords; there is a palsied indifference in the hearers that checks all spirit.

It was essential to Ld. Lansdown to preserve the attachment of —— during his Administration. But —— confided to Ld. L. that his health was injured by an irregularity of life. One should have thought from the austerity of Ld. L.'s manners and private character that he was a singular person to select for such a confidence, but so it was. 'Indeed, I am not surprised, the calamitous state of the country, the imbecility of Ministers, the

[1] Lord Holland points out in the *Memoirs of the Whig Party* that this was the first motion in the House of Lords on a subject which finally received the assent of Parliament in 1829. The motion was not directly negatived, but the debate was concluded by Lord Boringdon, who moved the previous question.

augmentation of the debt, and the increased influence of the Crown is such that I own to you very frankly for dissipation I plunge myself into the lowest debauchery.' He then, after this prelude, administered friendly relief. This is very characteristic of him ; the sort of jumble of ideas, and the overstrained civility of adapting his own conduct to that of the person he wishes to please, however repugnant it might be to him in reality.

'Comment, mon ami,' cried a wife to her drunken husband. 'Vous vous perdez, vous laissez toujours votre esprit au cabaret.' 'Ne craignez rien, ma chère, j'irais la chercher dimanche.'

People are very much occupied with this Divorce Bill.[1] Ld. H. has felt a shyness in attending the progress of it in the H. of Lords. A Bishop, full of the subject, last week began talking to him ; he expressed his approbation of its becoming a criminal proceeding, and added, 'And do you not think, my Lord, that it would diminish the frequency of the vice, if parties were condemned to imprisonment for five years ?' Ld. H. was, of course, puzzled how to answer. The Bishop was B. of Chichester.

8th May.—D. of Bedford, who is just returned to town, dined here ; Ld. H. was detained at the H. of Lds. Fortunately I had Francis, and the day went off pleasantly. We talked of Mr. Fox's history, to which he has written the introduction. It was lamented that instead of taking the period of which he could say so much from personal knowledge, he should go to one

[1] A bill on this subject was brought in by Lord Auckland in April, but was dropped after passing the second reading. The same gentleman introduced a new Bill on May 16, which passed through the House of Lords, though on third reading the figures were only 77 to 69. It was also read twice in the House of Commons, but was thrown out on a motion that it should be considered in Committee. The first was to prohibit the intermarriage of the offending parties. The second contained an additional clause making the offenders liable to imprisonment and fine.

distant and well known. The Duke said his reason was extreme indignation against Hume, whom he had been reading last autumn; who very artfully pleads the cause of the House of Stuart, and in a way to interest his reader about the private virtues of Charles I., 'Who, by-the-bye,' added he, 'is a most amiable man when viewed in his domestic capacity.' Upon this Francis, with his usual impetuous vivacity, burst forth against him, denying him every qualification that constitutes a gentleman or a man of feeling. He quoted two stories out of Carte's *Life of ye D. of Ormond,* a writer who is allowed to have a strong bias to the Stuarts. One was, that in the Palace at Whitehall there were etiquettes, 'similar to those established by that *fop Louis XIV.*,' about certain apartments, which could only be entered by men of distinguished quality. Hampden, by accident, and through ignorance of these courtly rules, got into one. Suddenly a noise announced the entrance of the King; to conceal himself he sculked behind a screen. His friends with whom he was conversing were in a bustle; the King upon entering perceived their disorder, and insisted upon knowing the cause. He explored behind the screen, and upon finding Hampden, he shook his cane over his head, and threatened to beat him and worse, if he ever broke through bounds again. The other was, his receiving a petition on horseback, which was presented to him by Sir T. Fairfax and a deputation kneeling; he made his horse curvet, kicked the knight, and endangered his life. Clarendon's style, he said, was *grave and slow.* He told Dr. Parr here at dinner the other day that Swift's style was *clear and shallow, perfectly pellucid.* The fact is he admires no style but his own, and that is worthy of admiration, as it is much the best now.

D. of B. means to go down about this new Divorce

Bill ; he is very eager against it. He says it will reverse the present system, for if a circumstance of the sort occurs to a husband who is high-spirited, he generally fights the lover, whereas the lover will now threaten the husband by saying, ' If you make an *éclat* and get me whipped at the cart's tail, by G——, I will kill you.'

A Bill is to be brought forward in the H. of Commons by Sir H. Mildmay to check the increase of Catholicism, by preventing the nuns at Winchester from giving the veil. An attempt to make a proselyte will become penal. Mr. Fox, when he heard of these Bills, the one against celibacy and the other, said, ' Aye, the poor women, they will not let them do one thing or the other.'

11*th May*.—Parr entertained us uncommonly ; he was in full force. We gratified him highly by going into the room into which he retreated to smoke. His vanity is such that the slightest attention elates him, and more particularly, when it comes from a person whom he would denominate a woman of quality. Mr. Knight's love of pedantry got him too frequently upon verbal criticism, and when they did fall upon a doubtful Greek word, they pulled at it like hungry curs. When they returned to the library he talked upon literature. His praise of Middleton's style was that a man of strong feelings and vigorous conceptions ought to study it to abate the ardour and rigidity of style, and he recommended it to Bobus. He asserted that Middleton was an unbeliever in Christianity, and read several passages, which put it out of all doubt, from his *Defence of the Free Enquiry*. Of Warburton he expressed the utmost admiration ; his opponents, he said, who had attacked him, were snarling hounds ; ' mine was the froth of a mastiff.' He said of Burke's first book upon the French Revolution that it was ' the effervescence of rage ' ; the second was ' the bitter sediment of malignity.'

On Tuesday I went to Money Hill; Miss Fox, Drew, and Charles went with us. I returned on Friday. The two mornings I passed there we drove about in the sociable to see the country.

We drove through Cassiobury, Lord Essex's; to The Grove, Ld. Clarendon's, and so on to Russell Farm, the Ladies' Capel. Pretty ground and fertile country. Ld. H. fished, and caught a few trout. Beauclerk did not articulate ten words; he seems happy, but it is the bliss of torpor. She resides reluctantly in the dignified solitude of a *guinguette* in the skirts of a petty town. From Beauclerk's practice one should think his precept was that conversation spoilt society; he rarely incurs that *risque*. It is to be regretted, as he has a most acute perception, and an uncommon degree of subtilty in his argument. No person is clearer on the *obscure* subject of abstract metaphysics; his definitions are ingenious and brilliant. Finance is also a branch of political economy he is profound in, and had he entered Parliament he would have distinguished himself. At present he is lost; shyness, indolence, and a sort of content deprive society of his exertions and his friends of his company.

The papers on Friday announced a singular accident which happened to the King at the Review on Thursday in Hyde Park; a musket ball wounded a Mr. Ongley standing near him. The question was whether it was from design or chance—the chance of an unloaded musket. When I came home, the first question I asked the porter in getting out of my carriage was whether there was anything new; he replied with eager alarm that the King had been shot at from a pistol at the play. I thought this story an exaggeration of the former one, but to my surprise found that the evening of the day on which he had escaped the bullet, he was deliberately

aimed at from the pit. The ball lodged in the upper boxes, and the King escaped unhurt. His behaviour was like that of a hero of antiquity ; he was in full possession of all his faculties, and was cool enough to tell the Queen, who was not in the box when the pistol was fired, that the report was from a squib. He remained on during the play with the utmost sang-froid. He told a person that he observed the fiddlers expected another shot as they covered their heads with their cremonas. The enthusiasm was boundless ; additional verses were added by Sheridan to *God Save the King*.[1] The King was so delighted with Sheridan's behaviour to the Princesses, for he prevented them going into their box by saying that a pickpocket was taken in the pit which made a riot and his presence was required, and begged their R.H. to wait in the room. He shall feel gratitude to the latest hour of his life, he says, to him for this sensibility. Sheridan, Mrs. S., and Tom are all to go to Court, both to-morrow and Thursday. Mr. Fawkener [2] dined with us on Friday ; he had attended the examination of the man at the Privy Council, and he said he was certainly mad. He was dismissed the army for insanity a few months ago, and he has since worked as a silversmith ; his name is Hadfield. I was vexed at not being present. I never much liked Money Hill, but this has disgusted me, for had I been at home I should have gone in my own box, from where I should have seen the whole *representation*, and with safety.

[1] From every latent foe,
From the assassin's blow,
God save the King !
O'er him thine arm extend,
For Britain's sake defend
Our father, prince, and friend,
God save the King !

[2] Mr. William Fawkener, clerk to the Privy Council, and eldest son of Sir Everard Fawkener, a London merchant.

Ld. Morpeth was to have come to Money Hill on Wednesday; he came to tell me on Saturday that his carriage was at the door at one o'clock to convey him thither, but that he was at White's, not returned from *Tuesday evening's* occupation; he owned to losing two thousand pounds. He will grow a decided gambler.

My old friend and admirer, Ld. Berkeley, gave Lord Chesterfield a reproving repartee. Ld. B. has killed two or three highwaymen, and it is known that he is distressed when the occurrence is alluded to. Ld. C., meaning to annoy him, asked him 'When he had last killed a highwayman?' 'It was, my Lord, as well as I can recollect, just at the time when you hung your tutor,' alluding to the unfeeling and wicked transaction about Dr. Dodd, who, though deserving of punishment, should not have met with it from his pupil, who from youth and gratitude ought to have felt more indulgence for the errors of Dodd.[1]

The Prince of Wales has notified his Royal pleasure of dining here. He grew quite angry at not being invited; he even spoke to my mother about it. He comes on Saturday, and Prince Augustus.[2] The latter came home to England without the knowledge and against the consent of their Majesties. He arrived at the house of Lady Augusta.

I went last night to the Opera. The Princess of Wales glanced many an inquiring look towards Mrs. Fitz-

[1] Philip, fifth Earl of Chesterfield (1755–1815), son of Arthur Stanhope, Esq., of Mansfield, Nottinghamshire, succeeded his relation and godfather, the celebrated politician and wit, in 1773. His former tutor, Dr. William Dodd (1729–1777), whom he appointed to the living of Wing, forged his name in 1777 for a bond of 4200*l.* Dodd was arrested, and notwithstanding great efforts made to save him, he suffered the supreme penalty of the law.

[2] Duke of Sussex. He had married Lady Augusta Murray secretly in 1793.

herbert's box, in which the Prince was as usual. This old amour is revived. The opinion of the world is so whimsical. Every prude, dowager, and maiden visited Mrs. F. before, and the decline of her favour scarcely reduced her visitors; but now they all cry out shame for doing that which she did notoriously five years ago. There is a sort of morality I can never comprehend.

Ld. H. took a fancy for about a week to write me some verses every night after he went to undress; I complained of his keeping me up late, he wrote immediately:—

> That his labours have set you asleep, is allowed
> The severest reproach to a bard you can make.
> Have not I then great cause to be proud—
> Your objection to mine is they keep you awake.

Ld. H. went to the Levée on Wednesday with Ld. Ossory to congratulate the King upon his escape; he went also on Thursday to the Drawing Room, and on Friday he went in a cap and gown with the Oxford Address. Mr. Marsh came to town as a delegate; he arrived on Thursday and stayed till this morning.

The Ministers have not attempted to convert this mad freak of Hadfield's into a Jacobinical plot; they let the affair stand plainly as it is. When Erskine heard of the shot from a man in the pit, he said, 'I thought the *Pitt-ites* would do the King mischief at last.' Should the poor lunatic be condemned, I think the King will feel a qualm at signing the warrant, as it is proved that the man was only insane in consequence of a severe wound in his head received while fighting in the King's cause.[1] As a confirmation of the opinion of the man's acting without any concert with other people, what

[1] He was acquitted, upon the grounds of insanity, and was ordered to be confined for the remainder of his life.

happened to Mr. Tierney will acquit the soldier who fired in the Park. On Thursday, riding from hence through the Park, he went by some soldiers who were reviewing, and a musket ball whizzed close by his ear. He told the story to Ford, the justice, and it is clear that the cartridges have been made improperly, that those which used to be for exercising with powder only, and in a particular coloured paper, are now loaded with ball.

The Prince of Wales, Prince Augustus, and a very numerous party dined here on Saturday; it went off very pleasantly. Prince Augustus is much altered from what he was at Rome; his mind and body are thickened.

The Divorce Bill, with the abominable clause, has passed the H. of Lords, the purport of which is to prevent the woman marrying the man on whose account the divorce takes place, and in addition to pecuniary damages to the husband, the offence is to be treated as a *misdemeanour*, and the punishment of fine and imprisonment rests *solely* with the judge.

Some persons were boasting before Mr. Fox of the excellence of the English laws, which he said certainly were excellent, but that there were objections at present. 'How?' replied the other person. 'The law is equally open to the peasant and the peer.' 'Yes,' said Fox, 'so is the London tavern,' meaning that to benefit by them one must pay dearly.

The following quotation from Carlyle's [1] translation of Arabic poetry has been very happily applied by General Fitzpatrick to Mr. Fox, who is the life and soul of the Whig party, both from the opinion entertained by them

[1] J. D. Carlyle (1759–1804), appointed Chancellor of Carlisle in 1793. He accompanied Lord Elgin's mission to Constantinople as chaplain.

of his ability, and the esteem and friendship they bear to his person :—

With conscious pride I view the band
Of faithful friends that round me stand,
With pride exult that I alone
Can join these scattered gems in one ;
For they're a wreath of pearls, and I
The silken cord on which they lie.

'Tis mine their inmost souls to see,
Unlocked is every heart to me,
To me they cling, on me they rest,
And I've a place in every breast ;
For they're a wreath of pearls, and I
The silken cord on which they lie.

Lord Wycombe has never passed the threshold of our doors since the day he saw his father drive into the gates, whilst he was in the porch. Whether he imagined the *rencontre* was the effect of design or that he chooses to have the air of appearing to think so, I cannot guess ; but the effect, from some cause or other, has been his absence.

The campaign does not advance as swimmingly as was expected by the allies. Melas, when he took the Bocchetta, expected Genoa could not hold out long after the loss of that important pass, but Masséna is determined to maintain himself till the last gasp, and now he is certain of being relieved, as Bonaparte has taken the command in person of the army of Italy.[1]

30*th May*.—The last date of his dispatch was ye

[1] Masséna was forced to capitulate on June 4, but the delay had given Bonaparte necessary time to cross the passes while Melas and his Austrians were still busily engaged at Genoa. Part of the French army of the Rhine was also liberated by Moreau's successes over Knay, near Ulm, and French reinforcements poured into Italy by the Simplon and St. Gothard. Melas, probably unaware of the new arrivals, turned to defend himself against Bonaparte, but was signally defeated on June 14 at Marengo.

18th of May at Martigny, but Berthier with the advanced division has crossed the Mt. of St. Bernard, and has reached Aost. The French have a *pied-à-terre* only at Genoa and Savona; Mantua, Milan, etc., are at present in the possession of the Austrians. Melas has taken Nice, but must quit it immediately to meet Bonaparte in Piedmont. Moreau has advanced to within a short distance of Ulm. Knay, the Austrian commander, is very obstinate, and strongly addicted to the old system of carrying on war by *posts*.

The Emperor Paul is grown quite mad. The French have made a caricature of him with *order* in one hand, *counter-order* in the other, and on his head *dis*order. Sir Charles Whitworth will feel happy when fairly off his territory, as he is capable of proceeding to personal violence against those with whom he is incensed. The English who inhabit Petersburg are detained as hostages for his 15,000 men in Jersey and Guernsey. Woronzow,[1] the Russian Minister, who has resided in this country many years, is suddenly recalled, as his dispatches have not been sufficiently abusive of this Government to please the Imperial taste; he is quite wretched, for besides breaking up all his old habits, he is not without apprehension of some punishment being inflicted upon him when he returns.

Parr says of the Bishop of Rochester's sermon, which was quoted so ludicrously and well by the Duke of Clarence, that it contains 'the precepts of the Koran, conveyed in the language of the Stews.'[2] The sermon

[1] Count Semen Vorontzoff was appointed Russian Ambassador in London, 1784, and remained there until 1806. He obtained permission from his Government to continue to reside there after his official connection with England had ceased, and died in 1832 at the age of eighty-nine.

[2] The Duke of Clarence used these quotations in a speech in the House of Lords on the Divorce Bill. The sermon referred to was delivered in 1795 by Samuel Horsley, Bishop of Rochester. The

was preached at the Magdalen, and Mr. Grey assured me without any joke that the doctrine and the language are both so extraordinary that no modest woman would read it, or own to having done so.

The D. of Bedford has been living here a great deal; he likes Ld. H. very much, and has grown to vanquish his prejudice against me, enough almost to like me. He would be ungrateful if he did not in some degree, as he is one of the very few persons of whom I think thoroughly well: he is honourable, just, and true. Lady John Russell [1] has been here several times, and is remarkably gracious. This I owe to the Duke's frequent visits, as she is curious to ascertain what object attracts him here, and politic enough to adapt her taste to his. The probability is that, without her caution even, he will not marry, unless indeed he should fix upon Ly. Georgiana Cavendish,[2] an alliance long arranged for him by the world. Ly. G. is a most charming girl—sensible, pleasing, full of information and totally without a particle of affectation, and if she bestows herself upon a man equal to her in situation, I have no doubt she will make a most delightful wife. Little Lewis is upon the eve of making himself a great fool about her, and, as he is not *séduisant*

reason for the Duke's reference was to oppose the arguments which the Bishop used on that occasion to his statements made on the Bill. Samuel Horsley (1733–1806) was appointed Bishop of St. David's in 1788, was transferred to the see of Rochester in 1793, and to that of St. Asaph in 1802.

[1] Georgina Elizabeth, second daughter of George, fourth Viscount Torrington, who married Lord John Russell (afterwards sixth Duke of Bedford) in 1786, and died in 1801, leaving three sons, one of whom was the celebrated statesman, Lord John Russell. Her husband succeeded his brother in the dukedom in 1802. He was born in 1766, and married, secondly, in 1803, Georgina, daughter of Alexander, fourth Duke of Gordon. He held the post of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1806–7, and died in 1839.

[2] Lady Georgina Dorothy Cavendish, eldest daughter of William, fifth Duke of Devonshire, and Georgina, daughter of John, Earl Spencer. She married Lord Morpeth in 1801, and died in 1858.

in person or manner, will not gain her heart, and a bundle of sonnets in lieu of title deeds will not operate in his favour with the elders of ye family.

Ld. H. brought Sheridan and Ld. John Russell home from the H. of Commons to a late dinner here at 8. By some accident Sheridan happened to be out of the House just at the moment when a division might have been made with advantage, as Sir Wm. Scott's [1] speech made so much impression *against* the Bill. Sr. Wm. denied the fact asserted in the preamble to the Bill, as to ye increased frequency of divorces. He, who is the head of the Ecclesiastical Court, spoke with weight when he declared that the *crime* was diminishing, as there had been fewer suits from '90 to 1800 than from '80 to '90, or from 1770 to 1780. The whole tenor of his speech was full of tenderness and right feeling towards women.

I went on Monday evening to Mrs. Walker's masquerade. I chatted pleasantly enough with some of my old acquaintances. Mr. Grey introduced Mrs. Grey to me,[2] as did Mr. Whitbread his wife, Grey's sister. Mrs. Grey is pretty and gentle, without looking so; she is handsome Ponsonby's sister. Mrs. W. has something pleasing in her appearance, but ill-health and the hereditary irritability of the Grey temper gives a certain fractious expression to her countenance: *au reste*, she is a very worthy, excellent woman.

Sheridan entertained us with a circumstantial account

[1] Sir William Scott (1745–1836), created Lord Stowell in 1821. He practised in the Admiralty and Ecclesiastical Courts, and was appointed Judge of the Consistory Court in 1788, Master of the Faculties in 1790, and Judge of the High Court of Admiralty in 1798.

[2] Grey married, in 1794, Mary Elizabeth, only daughter of William Brabazon, first Baron Ponsonby, of Imokilly. She died in 1861. His eldest sister, Elizabeth, married Samuel Whitbread in 1789. The latter (1758–1815) was only son of Samuel Whitbread, of Southill, Beds. He was elected as member for Bedford in 1790, and sat in Parliament until his death by his own hand in 1815.

of the whole affair at the theatre on the night of the assassination. He was in the Royal box when the pistol was fired, and saw most plainly the man take aim. Ld. Chesterfield advised His Majesty to retire to the back of the box, but the King said, 'Not an inch, not an inch,' and upon the Queen's entrance he waved his hand to make her keep behind, upon the pretext of her fear of squibs. S., as soon as the poor wretch was dragged out of the orchestra, examined him. He declares his answers were collected and distinct, until Sr. Wm. Addington [1] questioned him, who was extremely drunk, and suggested to the man ye plea of insanity by his mode of examining —a plea the man craftily availed himself of.

When Sheridan went to Court, the King spoke to him upon indifferent subjects and seemed undecided whether or not he should notice the occurrence. At length he said how much he was struck with the behaviour of the audience, which gave S. an opportunity of saying they only followed His Majesty's example. After a few such flourishes the King ended by saying he should despise himself if he had acted otherwise, for every man ought to feel his duty, and his was to stay quiet and not add to the alarm.

Mr. Abbot [2] has brought forward a Bill respecting

[1] Magistrate at Bow Street. He retired on a pension the following year.

[2] Charles Abbot (1757–1829). He first entered Parliament in 1795, and was made Speaker in 1802. He retired in 1816, and was then created Baron Colchester.

The Bill was the result of a Committee appointed by Pitt in 1797, with Abbot as chairman. It was designed to put an end to the habit, prevalent in the preceding century, of persons in high office placing the public moneys to their own account and appropriating to their own use the interest which thus accrued. It was not even considered necessary to refund the capital sum at the expiration of their term of office, when the accounts were closed, and the matter was allowed to drag on, as in the Hollands' case, until it was found convenient to pay off the whole.

The monies were outstanding from Lord Holland's grandfather's

Public Debtors, which alarmed us until it was explained, but it seems fair in principle, tho' ultimately we may be affected to a degree. All who have balances in hand will hereafter pay interest upon such sums. The debt from this family now due to Government is 53,000*l.*; the assets are near 46, the odd thousands Ld. H. must supply. The difference of the Bill taking effect will be that the interest must go to Governt., instead of making an accumulating fund, which in a few years would pay off the whole. Mr. Moore is afraid from rumour that a clause is to be moved by Mr. Baker to make the operation of the Bill retrospective. In that case, to the last shilling of Ld. H.'s property must go, as the amount would be enormous, but it seems so unjust that the alarm is, I trust, groundless.

Early on Wednesday morning last, ye 4th of June, we were roused by a loud rapping at the bedroom door opening into the drawing-room. My mother cried out that she had brought great news, that Sir Godfrey Webster was dead; that he expired the evening before in a fit. He had been indisposed for some days, which made the event more natural. I could not hear of his death without emotion, and was for some time considerably agitated. But, my God! how was I overcome when Drew showed me a hasty note written to him by Hodges to apprise me of the manner of his death. He shot himself, he added, in consequence of heavy losses at play. With him dies all resentment, and, great as my injuries have been, willingly would I renounce all that may accrue to me from this dreadful event to restore him again to existence, with the certainty of his paying the *natural* debt of

(Henry Fox, first Lord Holland) Paymastership. The practice was looked on as a right, though certain statesmen of the time—the Pitts and others—refused to benefit by it, and thereby obtained the praise and increased confidence of the public. The retrospective clauses were not finally included in the Bill.

nature. Unhappy man! What must have been the agony of his mind, to rouse him to commit a deed of such horror. Peace to his soul, and may he find that mercy I would bestow.

His confidential servant gave the following details: that he had appeared frequently disordered in his mind in the course of the winter, and that latterly his spirits were gone, and a physician attended him for a slow fever. But the malady was deeper; it was on his mind. Twice within the last weeks he had attempted to destroy himself by laudanum, but each time his man interposed, once by wrenching the phial out of his hand, and the other by compelling him to swallow an emetic. On Saturday he despatched his relation, a Mr. Whistler, to fetch from Sussex titledeeds of some estates, merely a device to get him out of the way. On Tuesday he went out at nine o'clock, and purchased at Egg's a brace of pistols, and after various devices and stratagems to get his servants out of the way, he but too fatally succeeded, and at half past four shot himself in his front drawing-room in Tenterden Street. Have mercy on him, Oh heaven!

Business compelled me to go to town, and my coachman drove me to the square; the shock of being almost within sight of those mangled remains was too much, of him, unhappy man, who now lies a melancholy proof of feelings too acute for existence. I would not have the self-reproach of having added one particle to the agony he endured, and am thankful that this sad catastrophe did not arise two years ago, altho' I should have been as guiltless a cause as now; but the world and my own readiness to upbraid myself would have assigned my quitting him as the cause. Ld. Egremont,[1] with whom

[1] George O'Brien, third Earl of Egremont (1751–1837), the well-known connoisseur and patron of the fine arts, who succeeded to the title in 1763.

he had lately lived in habits of social intercourse, called at his door just after the perpetration of this dreadful act; he was excessively shocked, and went three times that night in great agitation to Ld. Ossory's. He declared his intention of sending for the boys from school, and is now gone to Petworth with Webby. Henry is with my mother. The dear girl remains at school. Hitherto no will subsequent to that of '86 has been found; perhaps upon a strict examination one may be discovered. The funeral went down this morning to Battle, very privately attended. Mr. Plummer was with me, and told me he was a creditor to the amount of seventeen thousand pounds.

8th June, 1800.—The average produced by my estates is estimated at seven thousand pr. anm. We shall not touch a stiver for these 18 months, and only till then incur trouble and expense. To recover the money to fulfil the complement dictated by my grandfather's will, I must go to the seizure of his personal property. The sound is at first repugnant, seize the property to which my son is heir, but, in fact, it is only ascertaining my right, by which I shall prevent his coming upon the Holland estates after my death.[1]

I have abstained from seeing company since this horrid business, chiefly from feeling unfit for society; and, besides that, I would not that any person should say that I exulted in an acquisition so obtained, and I think, if I did not feel strongly myself, it would be judicious to do nothing that might be reported to my children as offensive. The anxiety about their guardianship is great; it does not yet appear to whom the charge devolves. I wait quietly till the will is found, or the one of '86 acted upon. If none is found, the

[1] By her grandfather Florentius Vassall's will the property was to be equally divided among all her sons at her death.

verbal injunctions laid upon his family to exclude me from the happiness of seeing my children will operate but slightly. I shall openly seize every occasion of making them know how near an object it is to my heart to be loved by them, and opinion will side with me, however the Chaplins may act to annoy me. If the will of '86 is to be in force, then nothing will be done but by the advice of the executors.

There is a curious but violent quarrel carried on between Lord Carlisle and Lord Kenyon; they abuse each other bitterly in their different *courts*, publicly and separately. On the night of the debate upon the Divorce Bill, in favour of which the lawyers are very eager, Lord Carlisle, in adverting to the various arguments, said that lawyers were from their sedentary occupations and retired habits incapable of judging the offences and punishments of the upper classes, and he applied to the corps of lawyers the term of 'legal recluses.' Ld. Eldon, who officiated for the Chancellor, took up the expression and was indignant at its being applied to the enlightened body who from their employment in human affairs were generally supposed to understand mankind. The Bishop of Rochester was furious, and said many cutting things to Ld. Carlisle, such as, he supposed that he would have the offence decided upon by those only who had committed, and in a marked manner showed he thought Ld. C. in that case entitled to judge. The next day, Ld. Kenyon, in the Court of King's Bench, in summing up a charge to the jury, contrived to introduce the expression of 'cloistered recluses' as having been used in the H. of Lds., and again declared his knowledge of human life to be equal to his wishes, and thanked his God he had not the knowledge of it which was acquired by 'titled adulterers at Newmarket, in Bond Street, and in the Stews.' Ld. C. has taken notice of this reference to his speech in

Parliament as unparliamentary, and means to move some resolution against the printer. He has been with Ld. Holland this morning, who has advised him to adopt another mode, and furnished him with the words; accordingly he will follow his advice.

9*th June*.—Erskine came unexpectedly to dinner yesterday. He is, as I could not help telling him, by far the most extraordinary man I ever met with. An incomprehensible compound of wit, ability, absurdity, folly, vanity, and sagacity. He repeated to me some lines he had written in court upon Serjeant Lens,[1] who was examining a witness with some pertinacity :—

> The Lenses that common opticians have
> Are plano convex, or plano concave ;
> But the Lens of the law being formed to perplex,
> At no time is plain, but concave and convex ;
> Convex his own case to enlarge and expound,
> Concave his opponents t'obscure and confound.

He can pun in rhyme, but to harmony of verse he has no pretence. He wrote the following epigram upon a very parsimonious lady, a Mrs. Wharton, when at Tunbridge :—

> Oft has my soul, puft up with pride,
> The truth of sacred writ denied,
> And to myself I still have said,
> 'Sure mankind ne'er of dust was made ;'
> Till thou, dear Peg, revers'd my creed
> And showed me we were dust indeed.

The clause in Abbot's Bill was not designed by him to have a retrospective operation upon those who have balances in bond due to Governt., but it was worded with such ambiguity that it threw persons so circumstanced into the power of the Auditors of the Exchequer. Ld. H. begged some confidential friends to attend to get

[1] John Lens (1756–1825), became a Serjeant-at-law in 1799, and King's Serjeant in 1806.

it otherwise worded, and employed Adam as counsel to get Abbot and Baker to alter it. Tierney promised zeal and attention; Sheridan undertook it warmly. When the day came I grew afraid of Tierney's candour, and thought he might yield to Abbot's assurance of the harmlessness of the words; for Tierney would sacrifice the interests of anybody to obtain the occasional popularity of conciliating an opponent. I therefore enjoined Mr. Moore to rely *solely* upon Sheridan, who tho' *never* punctual and not famously steady, yet would, I was persuaded, exert himself where he thought his services material. I was right. Tierney acquiesced in all Abbot alleged in behalf of the clause, and it was just going to pass into the Bill, when Sheridan arrived breathless from haste, examined the words, declared the sentence neither grammar, logic, or sense, and employed near two hours to convince the Committee that the ambiguous words should be expunged. They were so. The difference lay between '*shall have been declared*,' and '*shall be*.' I provoked Tierney by telling him before Whitbread, that my instructions to Moore were to shun the honest, candid man, as he would never help a friend at a pinch, too timid to essentially serve, too timid to commit himself by an opinion against any man, were the grounds not public and popular.

Interest commences from the enacting of this Bill, thus the interest cannot be reserved as usual to make a fund, and thus pay off the whole of the debt in a few years without touching us. But the principle is just, and nothing can be said against it with any decorum: and as it now stands it is certainly an expense, yet compared to what it *might* have been I am satisfied.

11*th June*.—D. of Bedford dined with us, and gave an account of the debate last night. Ld. Carlisle was to have made his motion against Kenyon, but a shuffling

sort of compromise made it go off tamely; he agreed to withdraw it if Grenville desired it. A languid, half shabby business. The Duke spoke. It is comical how eagerly these seceding gentlemen embrace every opportunity of speaking; on the most unimportant subjects unconnected with politics they attend, and say their say. Last night the Divorce Bill was thrown out in the Commons: not even admitted into a Committee. The mortification of its rejection *thus* will be double to Ld. Auckland; such marked contempt. Sheridan made an admirable speech, and did not mar the effect of it by too much wit; his matter was excellent. Ld. H. supplied him. At his request he wrote a little treatise which is full of sound reason and practical good sense. I have a copy of it.

Ld. H.'s epigrams on Horsley[1] were lying upon my table; Ld. G. Leveson, in rummaging over the papers upon it, found them and took them. Ld. H. being jokingly angry, wrote this:—

> Though in private my Muse in a profligate humour
> Her nakedness never withheld from your view,
> Yet she liked not that all who at tea in the room are
> Should have the same privilege too, and would you?

The following he said would suit ——, an impotent husband, to his wife:—

> As women wish to be who love their lords
> You wish to be, and ask why it delayed is.
> Because I'm not (what need of many words),
> As husbands ought to be that love their ladies!

Dumont mentioned a curious anecdote of Chirac, the celebrated physician of Louis XIV.,[2] told to him by

[1] On him and his share in the quarrel between Lord Carlisle and Lord Kenyon.

[2] He was appointed Louis XV.'s doctor in 1731.



Louis Gauffier pinx. Emery Walker Ph. sc

Henrietta, third Countess of Bessborough

Condorcet. At 84 years old he fell into a violent illness, which was his last. He lay for two days in a state of insensibility; he suddenly jumped up and sat upright in his bed, felt the pulse of his left hand with his right, shook his head, and in a loud voice cried, 'On m'a appelé trop tard, le malade est mourant.' He immediately fell back, verified his own prediction, and expired. He was the man roused in the night to attend a dying Cardinal, a person of very profligate life and infamous character. To hasten the physician, the messenger said, 'Venez donc, il souffre comme un damné.' 'Comment déjà?' —a bitter sarcasm in one word. He was present at a dispute upon the Resurrection of Christ; some thought it was impossible that he should have arisen after death. Chirac only said, 'Si il était mort de ma façon,' implying without levity, his own incredulity.

We have had a consultation with three lawyers, Piggott, Erskine, and Richards, upon the propriety of taking out a licence, or getting an Act of Parliament for my name, as it is particularly enjoined by my grandfather's will that the person to whom the estate goes by descent should bear his name. There is some nicety in ye question, because, tho' I am only just come into the profits of it, yet I was virtually possessed of it when that unhappy man compelled me to renounce it to him, and it may lead to an examination as to our signatures. This would be troublesome, as out of accommodation to him I signed two bonds without the name of Vassall. Ld. H. has only a marital dominion over it, and cannot be subject to forfeiture. Richards and Erskine think the title of honour supersedes all, and that no mischief has been yet incurred. It is not yet decided. Ld. H. went yesterday to Plummer's. I wrote to Ld. Ossory, and begged him to accompany him—a proposal certain of

pleasing, not only as it showed confidence and attention, but that it gratified his curiosity.

It appears that the average of the net produce, deducting outfit, annuities, mortgage, jointure, insurance, and, in short, every expenditure, is within a hundred or two of six thousand pr. anm., an ample acquisition, but as yet must not be anticipated or enjoyed. Sir G. W. has left property, however, to answer all debts. Webby must have 1000*l.* pr. ann. certain; that accumulating for ten years and half will be something. Henry and Harriet five thousand each.

Canning is immediately to be married to Miss Scott;[1] she has an immense fortune. He has just been made a Privy Councillor and Joint Paymaster; if ever a man was born with a silver spoon in his mouth, surely it was him.

Ld. H. was telling us to-day of the whimsical effect produced by a droll manner of compressing the substance of a man's speech. A Mr. Robson, who is neither witty nor clever by-the-way, gave his whole attention to one of Windham's speeches; he did not listen to the other debating, and when it came to voting he rose and said that 'The Honourable Gentleman had declared that we were not fighting *for* the Restoration of the Bourbons, but that we *should* fight till they were restored, therefore he should give his vote against him.' This done with gravity would get the laugh on his side, and provokingly perplex his adversary.

Erskine told us a singular cause that he was called to at Uxbridge. It was to decide upon a will supposed to have been made whilst the testator was under the influence of some morbid, mad affection of the mind.

[1] Joan, daughter and co-heiress of Major-General Scott, of Balcomie, co. Fife. She was created Viscountess Canning in 1828, after her husband's death, and died in 1837.

He was the elder brother of a man with whom he had lived in the closest habits of friendship, and to whom he was sincerely attached. One day he came home heated and fatigued, complained of the colic, and was advised by his brother to go to bed and drink warm rum and water. He followed his advice, but whether the disease was naturally fever, or that the rum created it, is not known ; but the effect was raging madness, during which he furiously inveighed against his brother for having poisoned him in the drink. The frenzy continued, and he was put under a mad doctor. In a few months he recovered his reason to all intents and purposes, acted as a magistrate, fulfilled all the functions of his station, gave law opinions, and betrayed no tokens of insanity. But some years after when he died, it was found by the will that he had excluded his brother, upon the old accusation of his having administered poison to him. It came out that the man, in favour of whom the younger brother had been disinherited, used to listen and rather encourage his rhapsodies. Erskine substantiated the will, but made the heir by will share alike with the lawful heir.

This story of rational madness reminded Ld. H. of one which Fontana was fond of telling, because it squares with the common definition of madness, and proves that a man may reason logically upon false premises. A very intelligent Jesuit went mad, and his predominating madness was that he believed himself to be a Cardinal. He was a loss to their community, and being a very subtle logician two or three of the cleverest of the Order undertook to argue with him, and convince by reason that he laboured under an illusion, which he might dissipate by force of mind. They asked him several questions as to the ceremonies necessary to be undergone previous to the instalment of a man in the College of Cardinals, to all of

which he pleaded ignorance. 'Why then,' said one, 'how can you imagine yourself to be a Cardinal?' He replied, 'I tell you that I am a Cardinal, and if you do not believe me such when I assure so, you must suppose me to be mad, and if I am mad, how can you be so mad as to try to convince by reason one who in that case must be labouring under an alienation of it?' This syllogism posed the Reverend Brothers.

Wm. Lamb is returned from Glasgow quite bitten with a Scotch mania. He thinks the Scotch have outdone in moral philosophy and ethics all who have gone before them. To use his own expression, 'They have gone far beyond Locke and Paley.' 'Yes,' replied Ld. H., 'so far, that they are unintelligible.' He was under Professor Millar,[1] a friend of Ld. Lauderdale's, a man who has written upon Governt., and who is the greatest enemy of all *belles lettres* and poetry; the latter he calls a mere jingle which proves no facts. Lamb is very clever and pleasing, and will improve when he gets out of his love for singularity.

Ld. Henry Petty unites to a sound, strong understanding a pleasant vein of cheerful humour, with talents and advantages far beyond his years. His simplicity and unassuming manner is the most winning of his qualifications. His character is very like Ld. H.'s, only he has less playfulness of imagination, and less vivacity; his turn of mind is rather serious, but in temper, artlessness, and integrity they are more nearly allied even than by blood. Ld. Lansdown idolises him, and with pleasure I perceive that his tenderness is bestowed upon an

[1] John Millar (1735–1801). He accepted a professorship in law at Glasgow in 1761. His lectures on civil law and jurisprudence were renowned. He was strongly inclined to Whiggism, and favoured the principles of the French Revolution, though detesting the excesses which afterwards arose in that country.

object that will reward him with interest ; poor old man, he wants filial comfort.[1]

Bonaparte in his passage through Switzerland went to Coppet to see Necker ; some imagine that he proposed to him to accept the post of Minister of Finance. Madame de Staël greeted the hero, and made a political tirade for full twenty minutes ; when she ceased she expected a complimentary eulogism, all he said was, ' Madame, a-t-elle nourri ses enfants ? ' A cutting rebuke.[2]

Dumont one evening read to us Rousseau's description, in his *Promenades solitaires,* of the Isle de St. Pierre, in which he describes the felicity he enjoyed and his regrets at having quitted his delicious retirement. Ld. H., who is no admirer of Rousseau in any way, grew tired, and wrote this :—

> Rousseau was so charmed in his island St. Pierre
> With walking and rowing about ;
> I agree with him heartily when he was there
> 'Twas a pity he ever came out.

Ld. H. told me this morning a piece of slyness of the Jacobinical party towards him. About two years ago a man of the name of Gurney, a solicitor, on behalf of the manufacturers entreated Ld. H. to speak against a Bill, which involved their interests, then brought before Parliament. It was entitled, a Bill to prevent unlawful

[1] Mr. Fox, writing of Lord Henry in 1802, says, ' I never did see a young man I liked half so much. Whatever disappointments Lansdown may have had in public life, and of a still more sensible kind in Lord Wycombe, he must be very unreasonable if he does not consider them all compensated in Lord Henry.'

[2] Mme. de Staël mentions Bonaparte's visit to her father in her *Considérations sur la Révolution française,* but does not allude to having seen him herself. Bourrienne quotes Napoleon's opinion of her : ' I do not like women who make men of themselves, any more than I like effeminate men. . . . I cannot endure that woman : for one reason, that I cannot bear women who make a set at me, and God knows how often she has tried to cajole me ! '

combination among the workmen. He spoke, and distinguished himself; his speech was printed at Manchester and Liverpool, and distributed among the manufacturers. It seems Burdett and Ld. Stanhope [1] grew jealous of his popularity among *their* friends, and have now contrived to get the petitions given to them, and have, now that resistance to it is become a little popular, espoused the cause. Ld. Stanhope told Ld. H. that he had made himself 'many friends among the most valuable part of the community.' Ld. H. of course does not care a straw upon the occasion one way or the other; it only makes him laugh.

Ld. Thanet quitted his captivity on Monday last; he is delighted at regaining his freedom, but a little annoyed at walking the streets where he is shown as a sight, 'There he goes: aye, that is him.' He says all rooms appear immense, his eye having been so long accustomed to the straitened little apartment he occupied. Madame Bonawitz latterly shared his confinement: she is reckoned clever, she writes *English* verses.

Our planet must have got out of its orbit and flown off further from the sun, as the cold is very remarkable. Fires are indispensable, and I, who have within these four years said the only place where a fire was useful was the kitchen, am perishing. This is the 11th June, and the servants continue fires, which is the more singular, as they in general lay more stress upon the calendar than upon their feelings. Bread is 17½*d.* the quartern loaf, butcher's meat from one shilling to 14*d.* pr. lb.; poultry, enormously dear; and every other article of consumption in proportion. How the labouring poor subsist and suffer their hardships patiently, are both problems.

[1] Charles, third Earl Stanhope (1753–1816), an outspoken admirer of the doctrines of the French Revolution, and a social reformer of a most advanced type.

Burke observed upon Mrs. Hastings's [1] reception at Court, that the Queen had but one vice, avarice, and but one virtue, decorum; but when accident had brought them to contend, the vice had proved the stronger.

I dined with the Smiths on Saturday, where I met Serjeant Law,[2] a man whose abilities are rated high in his profession, but who by a singular piece of misfortune, has never yet had a fair opportunity of distinguishing himself. He has a brief, clear way of expressing himself, with a portion of causticity: he puts me in mind of Mr. Wm. Fawkener. He dined here the next day. Our party consisted of almost all the rising talents at the Bar, Bobus Smith, Mackintosh, Mr. Scarlett, Sturges, Mr. Brand who, tho' only an amateur, yet studies the law. Fergusson, who is just liberated from the captivity of a year, called so near the moment of dinner that it was impossible, with the most adverse dispositions towards him, not to invite him. He accordingly accepted the proposal. His beauty is much praised, I did not admire him; about his mouth he has a mean expression. My *accueil* was not flattering or warm; as a guest he had my civility, otherwise a particle of notice would not have been bestowed. I neither like the man nor his cause. On Sunday the Beauclerks came to stay a day or two *only*.

I made, through my mother, to Mr. Frogatt a proposal to be laid before the guardians who may be appointed for my children by Chancery, the substance of which is an offer to take upon myself the whole expense of the maintenance and education of Harriet, that her fortune, which is but five thousand pounds, may be allowed to

[1] Mrs. Warren Hastings, the divorced wife of Baron Imhoff. She married Hastings in 1777.

[2] Edward Law (1750–1818), created Lord Chief Justice and Baron Ellenborough in 1802.

accumulate until she marries or is of age. I also wrote to him myself, adding that what I asked was solely for the girl's benefit, and that she would be equally under the superintendence and control of her guardians. To this offer I this day received an answer, merely to signify to me, that Mr. Chaplin, in pursuance of the *earnest* desire of ye late Sir G. Webster, had applied to Chancery for the guardianship of the children: a very improbable story, because if Sir G. Webster had recommended his children to Chaplin, there would have existed a suspicion of his intention of destroying himself; and, on the other hand, if it had been his steady wish, he would at least have made a will in case of a death as sudden and more unexpected. Sir Gilbert Affleck called upon Chaplin yesterday, to propose to join in the application for the guardianship, but Chaplin rejected the offer in a manner that Sir Gilbert told me it was a force upon his feelings not to resent as it merited.

Whilst Webby was at Petworth with Ld. Egremont, I wrote him a letter under cover to Ld. E., in which, after inquiring how he was, I conveyed my sense of Ld. E.'s kindness, adding that it was such that it claimed the gratitude of all his family. Before this letter reached Petworth Ld. E. had brought him to town to his grandmother's and the Chaplins, and I have not received a word of acknowledgment, which seems unnecessarily harsh. This behaviour in Chaplin is the more remarkable, as *he* has uniformly assured me that he would use his utmost endeavours to persuade Sir G. to let me see the children. This assurance I have under his hand and signature. Besides, he was quite cordial when I married Ld. H., wished me joy, and wound up his congratulatory sentence with a sort of prophecy that I should be happy, as my disposition was of a domestic turn, and that I had never hitherto had a fair opportunity of showing the

real goodness of my heart. He visited Ld. H. and me, the year after, when he came to town, and, in short, rather affected a sort of intimacy of intercourse. I shall set every engine to work to counteract these unjust projects.

A few days ago I asked Ld. Stair [1] just to mention, the first occasion he could find naturally, to Ld. Egremont how grateful I felt for his tenderness to my child. He did, and brought back a civil reply. I consulted Ld. S. about asking Ld. E. to do something towards getting me the facility of seeing my children. He told me he was a real good-hearted man, but one who was habitually indolent and to a degree timid as to meddling in other people's concerns, but that tho' he would do nothing for me, yet he was incapable of doing anything against. However, yesterday, to my great delight, Ld. Stair told me he had *de son chef* had a conversation with Ld. E., who not only was not averse to me, but offered to call and explain all he knew about my children's concerns, and would undertake to advise Chaplin to be more tractable. Ld. Stair advised me to write a letter of acknowledgment to Ld. E., which I did last night. Thus I have the sanction of one of the most respectable and worthy persons in my favour.

Sheridan dined with us last Friday ; Mrs. S.[2] was to have come, but she was ill from having sung too much. He was in a very playful vein of humour, and, without any marked *trait* of wit, all he said was pleasant. Lewis was a self-invited guest, to prove to me that he and William Lamb were cordial friends, who he knew dined

[1] John, sixth Earl of Stair (1749–1821), only son of John, fifth Earl of Stair, and Miss Middleton, daughter of George Middleton, Esq. He succeeded his father in the earldom in 1789. He was Minister Plenipotentiary in Poland, 1782, and to Berlin, 1785.

[2] Sheridan's second wife, whom he married in 1795—Esther Jane, daughter of Newton Ogle, Dean of Winchester.

with us; but he failed in that attempt, as Lamb complained that he followed him like his shadow, and bored him insufferably. Sheridan told a story of a sale of plants near his house. The trees were ticketed with their names. Two country gentlemen read a 'Dacious cypress.' 'This must be wrong,' said one, 'there is no such word: I will make it right,' and with his pencil he wrote '*Au*dacious.' When the little, puny deciduous cypress appeared with such a tremendous name, the whole auction room shouted with laughter. He said formerly the managers of the two theatres used to send people to hiss and disturb the actors at new plays. One night an actor complained to Garrick that the new tragedy was interrupted and would get damned, as a Covent Garden man was in the pit laughing. 'Never mind,' said Garrick, 'I shall be revenged, for I have a man fast asleep at their new comedy.'

Bedford House is pulling down, and the Duke is building a new square.[1] He has some idea of erecting a statue of Ld. Russell; I advised him to get Mr. Fox to write the prose inscription, Fitzpatrick the verse, and Dr. Parr the Latin. If he should raise the monument he will adopt my hint. Serjeant Lens surprised me by saying that should this statue be erected, the populace would in all probability pull it down. If so, public opinion has undergone a strange revolution, as he was a martyr whom patriots worshipped,—'That cause for which Russell and Sidney bled.'

[1] A note in the *Annual Register* for 1800, dated May 7, states that the Duke, having disposed of the materials of Bedford House, ordered a sale of the contents. A list of the most valuable of these is given.

Russell and Bloomsbury Squares, connected by Bedford Place, were erected on the site of the house and gardens. The idea of a statue of Lord Russell was not carried out, but in Russell Square a statue of the Duke himself, by Sir Richard Westmacott, erected in 1809, now stands facing Bedford Place. At the other end, in Bloomsbury Square, is a bronze one of Charles James Fox by the same sculptor.

19*th June*.—I went yesterday to Hampton Court, where I slept. Ld. H. rode over to St. Anne's, and joined me at night. In a small corner of the Palace erected by William now lives the Stadtholder[1] and the Princess of Orange, fugitives from those dominions their ancestor quitted to govern these : a reflection that must be accompanied with pangs of regret and mortification.

On the 19th, I went by water to Kingston Bridge, where I found my mother, Sir Gilbert, Henry,[2] and Mr. Francis. In the evening we all went to the Opera.

Genoa is taken, Melas seems to have changed positions with Masséna. Bonaparte is beyond Milan and restoring the Cisalpine Governts.

Francis says whilst the French armies are performing prodigies of valour, traversing impossible mts., dragging artillery over steep crags, disposing of empires, extending conquests, etc., we hear our own exploits, performed by an immense fleet sailing up and down the Channel, to be a descent upon France, and the victor's spoil '*three pieces of iron cannon and twenty-five cows*.' Maitland[3] commands the expedition which has been directed again against Quiberon ; the most he can do will be to singe here and there the coast of France.

On Thursday, ye 10th July, we quitted home to make an excursion for two or three months upon the Continent. Our party consists of Ld. Duncannon,[4]

[1] William V., the last Stadtholder, who left Holland in 1795 when the Batavian Republic was declared, and died in 1806. His son was restored as King in 1813.

[2] Henry Webster, her son.

[3] Sir Thomas Maitland (*d.* 1824) a brother of Lord Lauderdale. He was in command of the troops in this expedition, with local rank of major-general, while the naval force was under Sir Edward Pellew. The peninsula of Quiberon was attacked and forts on it captured, but nothing decisive was achieved.

[4] John William, Viscount Duncannon (1781–1847), eldest son of Frederick, third Earl of Bessborough, and Henrietta, daughter of John, Earl Spencer. He succeeded to the titles on his father's death in 1844.

Mr. Marsh, Dr. Drew, Charles, Hortense, Charles, 4 maids, and five men. We manage to stuff all into a coach and postchaise. We set off at five o'clock in the afternoon, slept at Epping Place ; began our journey the next day at 7. At Newmarket I saw D. of Queensberry : he wanted us to dine with him. He was violent at the continuance of the war, and spoke roundly against Ministers. He told Ld. H., upon the Dutch business, that if he had not made a determination never to vote against Government he would have voted with him upon that question. Mr. Vernon also came and sat by me whilst I eat : he envied my stomach that could digest and relish cold meat and porter. We stopped at Thetford. The D. of Bedford thought our coming so uncertain, that he did not hear even of our arrival until 10, and it was then too late to join us at supper, for we went to bed at ½ past nine. This morning we were up at 4 o'clock, off at 6, and passed through Norwich (where Ld. D. overtook us), and got here (Yarmouth) at about 2. Ld. Spencer wrote to order a convoy, but there is some difficulty about getting a better than a cutter. The Admiral (Dickson) has just been with me ; he promises *two* cutters, but the lugger in port is better.

We were landed upon *terra firma* within fifty hours after we had sailed from Yarmouth, a surprisingly quiet passage. Met on our way from the *jettée* at Cuxhaven, Mr. Arbuthnot ; he now is attached to Prince Augustus. I knew him formerly at Naples when he travelled with Ld. Digby.

The party set off that day, and slept at Basbeck, where there was no inn. 'Ld. H. and self lay upon the ground in the room we supped in ; the gentlemen, Charles, and the maids lay in a large room together.' They took the road to Hamburg by Cranz, crossing the Elbe at Blankenese. 'The wind rose and the water was rough ; we were about forty minutes in the passage.'

We came through Altona to this place (Hamburg) where we are very tolerably lodged at Kaysershoff. Mr. Berchemeyer, a great merchant, called to offer us every civility, as did Mr. Parish, the son of the late American Consul; he belongs to a great house of commerce. In the evening of the 18th we drove about the ramparts, and went to the French comedy, a neat theatre with a tolerable *troupe*.

During our stay at Hamburg we received much hospitality and civility. On the Sunday after our arrival we dined with Mrs. Parish at their country house upon the banks of ye Elbe. She is a sensible, voluble Scotchwoman. The party consisted chiefly of merchants; Symons, his wife and sisters, Flemings and relations of the famous coachbuilder of that name at Bruxelles. The ladies were recently returned from Paris, but their attire was such as Bonaparte would have corrected. We returned early, as the gates shut always at nine, the only one which is left open until eleven is only attainable by crossing the Alster, a sort of lake.

Bourgoing,[1] the traveller and author, on his way to his mission to Copenhagen, demanded of the Senate of Hamburg two French emigrants, who are conductors of a journal called the *Censeur*, in which Bonaparte is virulently and clumsily abused. Paul's Minister, on behalf of his master, claimed them, and the business is not settled. This is merely a pendant to our claiming Napper Tandy, for one injustice begets another.[2]

[1] Jean François Bourgoing (1748–1811), appointed Minister at Copenhagen in 1799.

[2] As soon as Napper Tandy took refuge at Hamburg in 1798, Lord Grenville summoned the Senate to hand him over to the British representative on the charge of high treason. After some delay he was sent to England, and was tried early in 1800. He was acquitted on one charge, but was condemned to death on a second. The sentence was never carried out, and he was released in 1802. His surrender,

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land, but sparsely inhabited, 'not more than three villages sprinkled over an extent of thirty miles.' Lady Holland says, 'On the whole it is the worst country I ever saw, and naturally so incapable of improvement that it would baffle the agricultural skill of our English improvers.'

From Zell to Hanover two posts: we were eight hours. Saw nothing but forests of diminutive firs, deep sands, and barren wastes. In fifty years there may perhaps be a tolerable road; at present all that appears is that probability. The *chaussée* is marked out, trees were planted, and even in some places stones are collected in heaps, but only here and there for about a hundred yards are any laid on the road; and where there is that small portion of *pavé*, it seems merely to be a pretext for a heavy toll. Well may these Hanoverian surveyors boast, as did one of the French patriots, that they labour for posterity!

Arrived at Hanover ye 27th July, 1800.

28*th*.—The King's stables, or rather stud, are very fine. It is from hence he is supplied with the white and cream-coloured horses which draw his state coach; they are beautiful animals, but have a diseased, unhealthy look, especially about the eyes, which have a reddish hue. The breed of horses and men are alike, and I could trace a likeness to my liege Lord and Sovereign among his coach horses. They breed good-sized mules from Italian asses. I was surprised at finding them so good in this cold climate, for tho' as hot as Italy now, the cold in winter is insufferable. The riding house is large and grand; one or two riding masters were busy *dresser* these *manège* horses. It is a graceful action, a man on a well-dressed horse, and it is much to the loss of our young men that the slouching fashion of riding gets the better of the *manège* method. The boys hoot at Duncannon and Marsh, and abuse

them for their ignorance of riding, calling out jeeringly ' Englan*der*.'

Saw a beautiful palace built by the D. of York, sold by him to one Eckhart, an army commissary, and repurchased by the King; and now occupied by Prince Adolphus.[1] It is exactly like a Paris hotel; the whole was executed under the direction of a French architect, and the furniture and decorations brought from Paris and Lyons. The Electoral Palace is old, irregular, and vast. One of the inner courts was destroyed by fire, and rebuilt by George II. In his private apartment they showed us the altar he commonly used, which had been rescued from the flames; it was very much scorched. His common walking cane the *concierge* kissed with veneration, adding, ' *He* loved us, *he* lived among us.' The Hanoverians are short-sighted enough to regret not having their Sovereign among them; they long for the splendour of a Court, without taking into account that his residence would entail taxes, burthens of various sorts, and perhaps wars.

A dark passage between the ball-room and the Electress's private apartments is shown as the spot where Königsmark was murdered. He had slipped out from the festive scene to indulge in the softer delights of love in the arms of the Electress; on his return he was rushed upon by the guards with their halberds, and dispatched. Various stories were invented, some that he was put into an oven and suffocated, another that he was thrust into a reservoir and drowned, another that the Elector (George I.) kept him to enjoy ye sight of his torture, etc. True it was that he disappeared, and that the Electress was banished her husband's

[1] Prince Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge (1774–1850), and father of the late Duke of Cambridge. He was educated at Göttingen, and served in the Hanoverian army until 1804.

presence and exiled to a castle at *All* or Aller.[1] She was never permitted to go to England, or assume the title of Queen. Some time afterwards B. Hoadly to satisfy the royal suspicions wrote the play of *The Suspicious Husband,* which proves that a gentleman may be in a lady's bedroom at night most innocently. Königsmark was but a *mauvais sujet ;* he had run off from England for murder. He shot Mr. Thynne in Hyde Park to prevent his marrying an heiress he had designs upon.[2]

In the evening we went to drink tea with P. Adolphus at Montbrilliant. He is remarkably handsome and pleasing in his manner, and since the decline of the Prince's beauty, is certainly the best looking of the Royal Family. He complains of being exiled. He left England when he was 12 years old, and since that time has only been there for four months. I renewed my acquaintance with Count Münster and Tatter, two Hanoverians whom I had formerly known at Rome when they were attached to Prince Augustus.

When we arrived at Brunswick we found the inns filled with Jews and infidels on account of the Fair, which is a great epoch in German festivity. We, however, obtained a tolerable lodging. Mr. Kinnaird is living in a Swiss *pension,* imbibing Genevan principles ; these upon a Scotch *fond* will produce a useful man to *himself* and family.

[1] Ahlden.

[2] The heiress was Lady Elizabeth Percy, daughter of the eleventh Earl of Northumberland. She was married at the age of eleven to the Earl of Ogle, son of the Duke of Newcastle, who died the following year. When fourteen her mother married her to Mr. Thynne, of Longleat, in order to preserve her from Königsmark, who was trying to marry her. As Thynne refused to fight a duel with a friend of Königsmark, who was put up to pick a quarrel with him, his assassination, while driving in Pall Mall, was arranged and duly carried out. In the ensuing trial Königsmark was acquitted of complicity, but had to fly the country.

A most gracious invitation from the Court immediately on our arrival being known ; we dined there the next day. The Duke is a worthy nephew of the great Frederick's ; but for the unfortunate invasion of France, he would have been in addition to the best general of his time the most successful.[1] His countenance marks a man of great talent. He is reckoned reserved, but his good breeding prevents it from falling into coldness. The Dss. is a most excellent, prating, good-hearted woman, very like her brother the King, full as talkative and inquisitive, but much less discreet. She rattled away upon all subjects. She put many distressing questions to me about the P. and Pss., especially as to the renewal of the *amour* with Mrs. Fitzherbert, about which I expressed the most profound ignorance. She could not conceal her dislike of the Queen, whom she called haughty and proud of her station, as she was but the daughter of an inferior Prince of Mecklenburg, an appanage of the family.

After dinner the Dss. desired I would join her to pass the eve. at Mde. Deodati's, a dull card assembly. The weather was very hot. Poor Drew fell ill, and kept his bed ; a fever and spasms. On Thursday we dined again at Court. In the evening went to the French comedy : a very pretty theatre ; afterwards to Mr. Des Arte, merely to please Mr. Kinnaird, who is living with him. Mr. Ridley, a good-humoured young man, K.'s fellow-traveller. On Friday received another invitation to dine at Court ; I wrote a letter of acknowledgment and apology to the good Duchess. Drew was better, and we set off to Helmstadt.

[1] Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. He was born in 1735, and married, in 1764, Princess Augusta, sister of George III. He was killed at the battle of Auerstadt in 1806. Their daughter, Caroline, married George IV. The Duchess returned to England in 1807, after the death of her husband, and died in 1813.

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thought right to be done. Ld. C. invited the gentlemen to dinner; Ld. H. refused civilly. I was confined to my bed and to the house for a few days with a sharp fever and sore throat, ill enough to take James's powders and bark. I went to the German play, not a word of which could I comprehend.

By mere accident we were introduced to their Prussian Majesties[1] in the gardens of Charlottenburg. Ld. H. and Duncannon had missed their presentation to the King by coming too late. He was going into Silesia, and another day had not been fixed. I did not dream of being presented to the Queen. However, during our walk we saw her glide like a nymph, with a child in each hand, along the Terrace; soon after Mde. de Voss, her *Gde. Maîtresse,* came and spoke to me and asked our names, which as soon as she heard she offered to introduce us to the Queen. We accordingly had the pleasure of seeing a most lovely woman; her figure is the finest I ever saw, her manner very affable and easy. She told me she was sorry we were going away from Berlin, but invited us back in three weeks to the reviews. The King came up to us; he is a fine, stout, soldier-like looking man. They are extremely attached to each other; it was unlike Royal marriages, but was a union of love. She is a Pss. of Mecklenburg. The children played and kissed Charles, who seemed to abate his usual shyness in their favour.

At the Pss. Ferdinand's at Bellevue I made acquaintance with Mde. du Néal, whom I liked extremely. We had some thoughts of going to Rheinsberg, the residence

[1] Frederick William III. married, in 1793, Louise, daughter of Duke Charles of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. She was born in 1776, and died in 1810. Frederick William, who was son of Frederick William II. and his second wife, Princess Louise of Hesse Darmstadt, became King of Prussia in 1797.

of Prince Henry ;[1] she fortified us in the idea, and offered letters to her two nieces, who compose part of his Court. Mr. Bruce, Ld. Elgin's brother, lodged in our hotel ; he is going back to India by way of Constantinople, where he means to visit his brother ; he dined with us. Ld. H. invited him out of good nature, from hearing he was solitary and unacquainted with the society of Berlin. Baron Schack, a *gens d'armes* [*sic*], to whom we had been civil in London, was at Berlin ; he was too much occupied with love, gambling, and military duties to be of much service to us.

Determined to go to Rheinsberg. Set off at 12 o'clock at night on Wednesday, 17th August. Left Charles and Drew : they were to go to Potsdam. We were to join them there. Ld. Duncannon and myself went in the open carriage ; Ld. H., Marsh, and Hortense in the chaise ; ye coach and three servants left with Drew and Charles.

As soon as we reached Rheinsberg on Thursday eve. we went to the inn, and sent out letters to the ladies and Count Brühl, one of the Chamberlains. They were all at the *spectacle,* but the gentlemen came out and invited us from the Prince to lodge in his *château* and to join him at the play. The latter was rather inconvenient as we had no clothes with us (the other carriage being behind), besides that we had travelled all night, and were dinnerless. Those difficulties were soon settled, and we got in time to see the *Petite Pièce.*

The Prince is one of the most remarkable men in Germany ; he distinguished himself in his brother's wars as a consummate general, and may boast of having done that which is almost unparalleled, of having put a French army to flight ; at Rosbach they fled before him. He is

[1] Prince Henry of Prussia (1726–1802), another brother of Frederick the Great.

75 years old, and possesses a strength and vivacity of intellect equal to what he formerly enjoyed. He is a Frenchman in his heart, he abhors everything German ; cannot speak it. He has a delightful French comedy ; his *troupe* of comedians is really good, the theatre remarkably pretty. I never passed five days more delightfully than under his hospitable roof.

The ladies we found clever, handsome, accomplished, and witty, and endowed with some qualities so rare and captivating that they inspired a sincere attachment. Mde. de la Rocheaimon is so perfectly pleasing, good-hearted, sensible, and amiable, that I never yet saw the person before whom I wished to have been my sister. I should like to pass many of my future days in her society. Her cousin, Mde. Peneval, is witty and highly accomplished ; she is more *spirituelle* than the other, and the other is merrier. She is the widow of a French officer, who was attached to the service of P. Henry ; upon his death she was penniless with three children. The Prince continues her husband's pension, lodging, etc. ; the more kind, as she is, as she says, ' La première femme qui ait trouvé grâce auprès de lui.' His weakness does not lie in his love for the female sex.

We supped in a Chinese temple in the garden. It was illuminated, and we had some excellent French horns playing in the wood ; it was delicious. The next morning we breakfasted by the lake ; I bathed in it. The Prince, and indeed the whole party, did every earthly thing they could imagine would please us ; I never experienced such warm-hearted, zealous, unaffected desire of obliging as they manifested towards us. He gave us extra plays, and, in short, did the utmost of his power to convince us how much he was pleased at our visit. Rheinsberg is the place where Frederick II. wrote his

Anti-Machiavel, and where he lived during the latter end of his father's life.

Drew grew uncomfortable at staying alone at Potsdam, and employed a certain but alarming method of abridging our pleasure ; he said Charles was ill. We set off on Tuesday morning, perfectly persuaded we should find the dear boy, if not quite well, yet at the worst only slightly ill, but we would not risk the possibility of his being really ill, so we went. We travelled all night and reached Potsdam at seven o'clock on Wednesday. Found Charles feverish, but not worse than he has been fifty times since his birth.

They left Potsdam two days later, passing through a dreary country to Wittenberg and on to Torgau. From thence to Leipsic and Dresden.

We quitted Dresden on Thursday, the 18th of September ; dined early before we set off and got in two hours and a half to Meissen. During the night Elliot [1] sent us an *estafette* with our English letters, among them one from Mr. Moore to tell us the application for leave for us to pass through France was referred from the Duke of Portland's office to Ld. Grenville's ; one from Mr. Fawkener saying that there were obstacles, but he hoped they might be removed.[2]

[1] Hugh Elliot, British Minister in Dresden until 1803, when he was transferred to Naples.

[2] Strict regulations were at this time in force against any voluntary visit to places in the French dominions or under the rule of the Republic. Lord Holland mentions in his *Memoirs of the Whig Party,* that to obviate this he applied for a special permit, but received no answer. As they had, however, passports from Bournonville and La Valette, the French Ministers at Berlin and Dresden, and having read a letter from Lord Grenville to Lord Carysfort saying that all would be well if they did not visit Paris, they decided to go on. This was fortunate, he says, for the Duke's letter, which he did not receive until his return to England, gave no decided permission, while as it was they had no difficulty, on reaching Dover, in obtaining leave to land.

They left next day for Weimar.

We arrived at Weimar between one and two. We passed the Dowager Duchess's palace, which stands to the left of the road. I had a letter to D. Dss.,[1] but my low spirits about my eyes determined us to go on as fast as we could to Cassel, there to wait the decision whether to go by Cuxhaven home or by Calais. Dined ; drove to Moutier's establishment at Bellevue. Since the Jacobinism has prevailed so universally in the German Universities, young men go to this sort of private Academy. We drove about and walked in the English garden, which was made under the inspection of the famous Goethe, author of *Werther*, and Prime Minister of this Duchy. Mr. Lawrence[2] called in the evening ; he is a whimsical young man, who has written several strange things, but not wholly without talent. Ld. H. sent a letter to Wieland to solicit his acquaintance, but he was in the country.

On arrival at Cassel Holland and Marsh called upon the French Minister, *le citoyen Rivale*, who was remarkably civil, and gave the passport from Bournonville. The passport is made out in the most marked and obliging manner, everything troublesome omitted, no time limited, no descriptions of our persons, and the route left blank for us to fill up to Paris if we choose. The Secretary of Legation, Senurier, was very good-natured to me. I had heard stories of robberies committed by deserters beyond

[1] Duchess Amalia of Saxe-Weimar, a Princess of Brunswick. She married Ernest Augustus, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who died in 1758, and acted as guardian to her infant son, Charles Augustus, who lived until 1828.

[2] James Henry Lawrence (1773–1840), miscellaneous writer, son of Richard James Lawrence, Esq., of Jamaica. His essay on the customs of native caste in Malabar was inserted by Wieland in his *Merkur*, and he later published a romance on the same subject. In later life he asserted that he was a Knight of Malta, and called himself Sir James Lawrence.

the French frontier but within their line of demarcation, which rather alarmed me, and made me wish to have an escort if possible. He accordingly gave a letter to any commander we might find before Coblentz. Mr. Lorentz, the banker, very useful and civil: he dined with us, managed about money, as it is illegal to draw upon England from French territory.

They started again on the 26th, and reached Weilburg on the 28th. 'I saw French proclamations posted up in the villages, signed *Augereau.*' They slept that night at Montabaur.

We got off early on ye 29th. Woods to Coblentz. Met a French general, escorted by cavalry. Wood chiefly copse, country much inferior in beauty to that we quitted. Ehrenbreitstein repairing; the village under the fortress quite ruined, churches and convents unroofed and demolished, but the peasants are active in repairing their habitations. Ld. H. showed his passport and had a pass given for persons and horses to cross the Rhine. Crossed in the *pont-volant*: all of us and our baggage stopped at the Custom House. I went to the inn with Charles. Ld. H. went to the banker; some difficulty in arranging about money for Bruxelles. Mr. Lorentz rather in fault. Ld. H. showed passport in the evening to the *Préfet*, Boucqueau, who was remarkably well-bred and civil. Banker's name Botsgeissen; married to a Leeds woman. The Electoral Palace in the town is converted into a hospital. The inhabitants pay great contributions; it falls hardest on landholders. The German play driven out by a French *troupe*, who have established a French *spectacle*. The establishment of juries seemingly popular. Heard of a famous robber towards Trèves, who maintained banditti, bribed peasants, and gave passports, and who is particularly inveterate against the Jews. Country cultivated, and provisions, at least bread, very

cheap. Very different accounts of the French, but all agreeing in the improvement since Bonaparte, and in wishes for peace. The people are allowed great freedom of speech; they paid more for having given an asylum to the emigrants, which seemed very unjust upon them. All religion tolerated and none interfered with; monks as usual, but I saw none. The inn excellent, quite new; not the same as the one I used to go to. . . .

I laughed heartily at the sight of a monk with a French cockade in his hat. To the left, about a mile from Bonn, there is a fine castle upon an eminence. The modern *châteaux* of the nobility are deserted, and many totally destroyed from being unroofed and *gutted*. The Elector's country palace was magnificent; it is now converted into a hospital. Bonn is a clean, well-built town, the Palace immense, now inhabited in parts by officers and magistrates, but chiefly falling to decay. The Tree of Liberty decorated with the tricolour flag. I was surprised instead of finding the old inn, which was very good, to find a new one just built upon a most magnificent scale. The road from Coblentz to Bonn is good; from Bonn to Cologne sandy and deep, country flat, but rich and well cultivated.

A mile or two before Cologne a bend of the river extremely beautiful. Wrote our names at the gates; one of the guard was a drunken Irishman, who with the rest of the vagrant scum of Europe composed the *Polish legion*. Cologne is a large, gloomy town, overrun with monks and beggars. The inn was excellent; it had just been repaired and newly furnished. We were surprised that, considering the interruption there must have been to travelling, accommodations and post horses should have been so good and abundant. We went to the play, which was bad enough, but like all foreign theatres well attended. The *gendarmes* and hussars very handsome;

we agreed that the French officers were better looking than formerly. The reason, I suppose, is that under the *ancien régime* the officers were chiefly noble ; now a man is taken out of the ranks and dubbed General. . . .

Sunday, Jan. 25, 1801, *Staines Inn.*—The complaint in my eyes and alarm about my poor child prevented me from enjoying myself during the last two months of my foreign excursion. After passing many watchful nights, and latterly for 8 together, by the side of my dear boy, he was snatched from me, alas, for ever.[1] He died on the day devoted to mirth, his dear father's birthday. On ye 22nd early, we quitted H. H., and took up our residence at Ld. B.'s in Cavendish Square during their absence at Chatsworth. I was broken-hearted and dispirited for many weeks.

Soon after, Charles caught the measles, and luckily for my peace of mind had them most favourably. His little endearing qualities, and Ld. H.'s affection, the kindness of friends, and the hope of having more children, have to a degree soothed my feelings, but oh ! my God, what anguish can equal the pang a mother feels who sees her infant struggling against death. What I have endured worlds should not bribe me to undergo again. Beauclerk, as soon as he heard of our distress, came to town to see us, and with real heartfelt interest entered into our sorrows. Mrs. Smith showed herself affectionate and tender : and the D. of Bedford continued in town, and stayed as much with us as possible ; indeed, day after day he devoted to being in our company. We had taken a mere nutshell, a *pied-à-terre,* in Stratton Street ; my spirits have been so low that the small and varying society that I got of evenings from those that drop in amuses and cheers me. I write at this moment at Staines,

[1] Stephen, born January 18, 1799.

where I am with Charles and Ld. H., partly that the first may be shown to his uncle, and partly that Ld. H. may see *his* uncle, and endeavour, with Grey, to prevail upon him to resume his parliamentary functions.

Stratton Street, 30th Jan., 1801.—A rumpus in the Cabinet, supposed about the Catholics. The opening of the Imperial Parliament[1] has been delayed already three times, and the day for which it is fixed at present is not the one it will, according to all expectation, meet upon. Various reasons are assigned for the delay, and the wise-heads are full of strange and curious speculations upon the occasion. Some imagine Ministers are negotiating, not to obtain peace, but to get a reply from Bonaparte declaring his intention of maintaining the demand of the Northern Confederacy with respect to neutral bottoms, by which they will succeed in making the Northern war popular with the country. Others, that great concessions have been made to Russia to withdraw her from the confederacy, even to the sacrifice of Hanover. Others, that the King is more in want of Dr. Willis[2] than of his Lords Temporal and Spiritual assembled in High Parliament.

It is a curious circumstance to reflect upon, that in the course of a very few years France, whom we expected to crush and entered into a league against with half the powers of Europe, should now have so completely turned the tables upon us as to head triumphantly the most formidable combination that was ever undertaken. If the King of Prussia marches to Hamburg (which unquestionably is his object), and the French compel the Portuguese to renounce our alliance, we shall not have a friendly port from the North Pole to Africa.

[1] 'The Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, otherwise called the Imperial Parliament, was opened, by commission, on the 22nd of January, 1801.' . . . The King, however, did not meet Parliament till the 2nd of February (*Annual Register*).

[2] His medical attendant.

Opposition mean to attend actively this session. Grey has renounced the errors of secession, and tho' Fox still hangs back, I think a few strong divisions will be irresistible and make him return to the career in which he has outstripped every competitor. Ld. Darnley has attached himself with warmth to Opposition, and intends to bring on a motion upon the State of the Nation. To-day has brought another convert, Ld. Fitzwilliam,[1] who has expressed a wish of moving the amendment, one very hostile to Ministers and, strange to say, full of pacific wishes. His respectability, high name, and integrity of character carries great weight, and will add much to the slender forces of a disjointed, disbanded Opposition. The D. of Bedford pledges himself to nothing, but his inclination leads him to attend and would conquer, but for Ld. Lauderdale's jokes, who is always telling him he delights in making a long prose to the House of Lords, for which he never indulges himself on any question but on those that would make Cicero or Fox prose, *scarcity*, poor laws, enclosures, etc., etc.

Ld. Wycombe, who obtained passports to go through France in his way to Florence to get witnesses, was at Paris during the explosion of the *infernal car*, and within 220 paces of it at the moment of its blowing up.[2]

11*th Feb.*, 1801. *Stratton Street.*—During the Rebellion in Ireland made by the United Irishmen, it used to be the phrase, when a disturbance broke out in a town, to say, 'They have got the Union among them.' That cant saying might now be applied to a higher sphere, as

[1] William, fourth Earl Fitzwilliam (1748–1833), Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1795.

[2] The attempt to blow up Bonaparte on the way to the Opera took place on December 24, 1800. The plot was hatched by three Chouans—Limoëlan, Saint-Réjant, and Carbon. The two latter were taken and executed; but the first-named escaped to America. An extract from Lord Wycombe's diary relating to the atrocity appears on p. 142.

since the Union of the Kingdoms the Cabinet has been divided, and at this juncture broken up. Reports and opinions are so different and various that I can collect nothing that gives me a very distinct idea. At present all that can be depended upon is that Pitt, Grenville, Dundas, Windham, Lds. Camden and Spencer, have resigned their places, and are virtually out of office, altho' the former remains in until he has made the loan and opened the Budget. The occasion of this extraordinary breaking up of the Administration is the King's peremptory refusal of assenting to the Emancipation of the Catholics, a measure Ministers consider themselves as pledged to, and a promise of which was one of ye instruments of conciliation to all parties to obtain the Union.

It now appears that the King was all along against the Union, foreseeing that this question would be the price of it. It appears incredible that Ministers should esteem themselves so irrevocably bound to the Catholics, when the opinion of the King has uniformly been against complying with that measure, which they must have known at the time they held out the promise to the Irish. The King believes, and the belief so inculcated is sedulously maintained in his mind by the Bishops (especially by ye Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr. Stuart,[1] the Primate of Ireland), that any such relaxation towards the Catholics is incompatible with his Coronation oath. It was owing to these differences that the meeting of Parlt. was delayed on account of the tenor of the Speech. Pitt wanted it to breathe toleration and indulgence in the true spirit of amity ; the King absolutely rejected all such promises. During the week in which the Speech was adjusting, there were many rumours of a change of

[1] Hon. William Stuart (1755–1822), fifth son of Lord Bute. Appointed Bishop of St. David's, 1793, and Archbishop of Armagh in 1800.

Administration; indeed, one day they were so current that I believed enough to be tempted to send to Lansdown House to ascertain whether its noble owner had been sent for from Bath. Several tradesmen distributed their commodities gratis, so great was the joy; but on the Saturday previous to the meeting of Parlt. all was supposed to be amicably settled owing to the interposition of the Speaker, who was closeted with the King several hours during the Queen's concert. However this honourable friend was occupied in a different negotiation than that designed for him by his munificent patron and employer—in one no less surprising and despicable than of tripping up his heels and offering his services to replace him. This huge and monstrous act of ingratitude was known publicly last Saturday, and Pitt on Monday, in his place, announced his resignation, and Ld. Grenville last night in the House of Lords spoke to the same effect. Nothing is yet known certainly as to the new Ministry; many of the places cannot be filled, and the opinion is they cannot hold together a month. Ld. Carlisle refused; at least he was sounded. Ld. Macartney refused. Jekyll said an Administration, formed out of the dregs of the old one and leaving Pitt out, was like getting up *The Beggar's Opera* without the character of Macheath.

14*th Feb.*, 1801.—Yesterday was a political fast ordered by Parliament during the continuance of the war. Jekyll wrote *ex tempore* :—

> Why on this day the lot d'ye cast
> To mortify the *British* nation,
> When every day's a general fast
> And every hour's humiliation ?

(*British* added by Lewis to make the metre.)

Some person asked Jekyll why he did not put the

Administration into verse, upon which he said it was already *inverse.*

Feb. 26, 1801.—The first laugh over, people begin to think this Administration may last, and if they commence a negotiation they will even become popular. Pitt, however, is regretted, and there are those who think the whole a juggle, that he is, in fact, Minister behind the curtain ; but these are refinements. He certainly solicits persons to take office, and his own friends to hold those they have ; but this is but a shallow artifice to prevent the odious cry of his deserting the King. The new Ministers like to let it appear that Pitt is cordial to them, and account for the resignations by saying those who resign are chiefly of Canning's faction, and that Pitt has reprimanded Canning for his intemperate language.

Lady Buckingham [1] (the Marchioness), the first drawing room after these changes, went to give thanks for her peerage (Baroness Nugent, with remainder to her second son) ; she is a bigoted Catholic, and gave great scandal during her husband's government in Ireland by attending the R. C. Chapel openly. When she stood in the circle to be spoken to, the King came up to her and began a conversation, in the midst of which she turned upon her heel and said aloud to the person next to her, 'I think I have treated him coldly enough.' His Majesty heard her, and in an irritated tone said, 'I don't mind women's politics.' Those who are for Catholic Emancipation affect to believe that the discontents upon its rejection

[1] Hon. Mary Elizabeth Nugent, daughter of Robert, Viscount Clare (afterwards Earl Nugent). She married, in 1775, George Grenville, second son of the Right Hon. George Grenville. He succeeded his uncle as second Earl Temple in 1779, and was created Marquess of Buckingham in 1784. He was twice Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1782–3, 1787–9: and died in 1813. Lady Buckingham was created Baroness Nugent in 1800, with remainder to her second son, George, at whose death in 1850 the title became extinct.

will break out, and an invasion from France will be successful.

This opinion produced a *bon mot* from a man who never made one before. A person asked Lord Brome [1] who was to succeed his father (Ld. Cornwallis) in Ireland. 'Most probably *Bonaparte*,' replied the youth.

Lady Clare began abusing Ld. Cornwallis furiously before the Duchess of Gordon, who coolly answered that she 'had never heard him abused but for two things, one was the not putting the town of Seringapatam to the sword, the other, that in Ireland he never whipped nor tortured.' The retort was keen, as Lord Clare [2] made a speech in favour of the enormities committed by the Orangemen, which is called and known by the name of 'The torture speech.'

8th March, 1801.—The King is recovering as fast as he can, say the courtiers; Pitt's people cautiously say he may amend, but it must be slowly; Opposition declare he is as mad as the winds. Upon the first signal of madness the Prince notified to Ld. Fitzwilliam that circumstances were similar to those in '88–'89 and that it was his intention to consult those who had been his friends at that period, and he wished Ld. F. to discuss it over with those with whom he had acted at that period. Ld. F., rather precipitately, sent off an express to St. Anne's to fetch up Fox, who came early the next morning. Ld. Moira saw Grey and the D. of Bedford (separately) and proposed to each the formation of an Administration in case of a Regency, without either Fox or Pitt. This they declined, and unequivocally declared they would never take office unless

[1] Charles, afterwards second and last Marquess Cornwallis (1774–1823).

[2] John Fitzgibbon, appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1789, and raised to an earldom in 1795, as Earl of Clare. He married, in 1786, Anne, daughter of Richard Whaley, Esq.

Fox was the efficient man in the Cabinet. Ld. Moira had a private interview afterwards with Fox, in which nothing very material passed. The Chancellor begged to see Fox that they might refer back to their joint proceedings in '88 : Fox was astonished at the C.'s want of memory. He did not think his forgetfulness was wilful. In the course of their meeting, Loughborough gave him to understand that he was authorised to express Pitt's wishes for an accommodation in private, and his disposition to adjust their differences of opinion upon the question of right, but Fox declined the interview on hearing the arguments, adding that the House of Commons was the proper place for political opponents to debate in.

Pitt is still Minister. The King's illness occurred on Saturday, and the patent to admit Addington was to have been signed on Thursday : thus Addington has given up an immense place of £7000 pr. ann., and undergone the expense of his election, for the bare honour of having been thought worthy of His Majesty's confidence.[1] Windham says he is one of the gentlemen who are *shut in.* Those only who are fairly out are Lord Spencer and Ld. Grenville.

The first act of Ld. St. Vincent's Administration [2] was a pretty hard rap at Ld. Spencer's ; he gave the command of the Channel fleet to Ad. Cornwallis,[3] a man

[1] This of course was not the case. The King recovered sufficiently to permit of the necessary arrangements being made.

[2] Lord St. Vincent became First Lord of the Admiralty in Addington's Government, giving up the Channel Fleet.

[3] Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis (1744–1819), Marquess Cornwallis' brother, when proceeding as commander-in-chief to the West Indies in 1796, put back owing to damage to his ship. He was ordered to start again at once in a small frigate, but declined to do so on the grounds of health. For this he was brought to a Court martial, but though practically acquitted, he resigned his command.

whom Ld. S. had brought to a Court martial and in a manner laid aside and disgraced.

Ly. Spencer [1] cannot reconcile herself to the insignificance of being out of power ; she is carrying on an intrigue with Mrs. Fitzherbert thro' Jack Payne to reinstate Mr. Pitt, by making him acceptable to the Prince. Ly. S. is the greatest prude alive, and yet because it is her interest she passes many hours daily with Mrs. F.[2] The latter is rancorous against Fox ; she has never pardoned his compliance with the Prince's orders in the last Regency, when he declared that no marriage had taken place between them.

9th March.—A person said to the Duchess of Gordon that Pitt, now he was out of office, would have leisure to amuse himself and indulge in his favourite recreations. Among the latter *Pope Joan* was named. 'Aye,' said the Dss., 'I wish he would think more of *Joan* and less of the Pope'—more of the ladies and less of the Catholics.

George Ponsonby, distinguished in Ireland as a pleader and orator, has carried the election for the County of Wicklow. During the poll a man upon the hustings assigned for reason of his voting against him that *common report* said he had been connected with the United Irishmen. '*Common report* is known to be a liar,' said Ponsonby, 'and so, I think, are its trumpeters.' More is expected from him in the Imperial Parlt., than from all the Irish put together ; his talents are supposed to be well adapted to the English style of debate, and his language good without being too florid, the common defect of Irish eloquence. He is cautious, and will not hastily risk impairing the reputation he has already

[1] Margaret Georgina, eldest daughter of the Right Hon. Stephen Poyntz. She married John, first Earl Spencer, in 1755, and died in 1814.

[2] This is not true. E.V.H., November 1801.

acquired. Mr. Fox has not the highest opinion of his political honesty, but Grey, who loves with fervour every person connected with him, is jealous at the suspicion.[1] We must wait to see how opportunity may tempt and time mature his propensities.

Horne Tooke has at length got into Parlt. for the rotten borough of Old Sarum, through the patronage of Lord Camelford. Ld. Temple has given notice of a motion to investigate into his eligibility; the question is whether he can sit in Parlt. after having taken priest's orders. He has already spoken frequently, but his wit suits the mob at the hustings better than the genteel mob of Parlt. He is too fond of talking of himself, and his jokes are trite. He made formerly a very satirical good joke in a toast, and it was so well disguised that what is very Jacobinical appears extremely loyal—'*The brave followers of the Duke of York,*' meaning the *French,* who pursued him when his army was put to flight in Holland. It will be a good expulsion for ye Opposition, as he is very mischievous, and would overset any little popularity they might acquire if they could conduct themselves with tolerable prudence.

11*th March.*—Lord Morpeth is to be married in a few days to Lady Georgina Cavendish, a suitable match in every respect. Without possessing great beauty she has many charms, and is so well disposed that *il a beau jeu* before him, if he will renounce *le gros jeu,* but it unfortunately happens that love only suspends that passion when it has taken deep root. However, he has so good an understanding and such right feelings, that what a man can do to conquer a vicious habit he will do.

The loss of my child sits heavily upon me, my heart is oftentimes overflowing, and my health very much

[1] Grey's wife was George Ponsonby's niece. Ponsonby was the leader of the Whigs in the House of Commons from 1808 till 1817.

impaired. The system that Sr. Walter Farquhar[1] has put me upon is calculated to rouse my constitution, but grief and a certain natural morbid tendency may baffle all his endeavours. My Charles is delicate, and has frequent and severe attacks: anxiety for him and regrets for my poor Ste. make the hours of reflection and solitude pass sorrowfully over. There is a sensation in a mother's breast at the loss of an infant that partakes of the feeling of instinct. It is a species of savage despair. Alas! to lose my pretty infant, just beginning to prattle his little innocent wishes, and imagination so busily aids my grief by tracing what he might have been. In those dreary nights whilst I sat watching his disturbed sleep, I knelt down and poured out to God a fervent prayer for his recovery, and swore that if he were spared me the remainder of my life should be devoted to the exercise of religious duties; that I should believe in the mercy of a God who could listen to and alleviate my woe. Had he lived I should have been a pious enthusiast. I have no superstition in my nature, but from what I then felt it is obvious how the mind may be worked upon when weakened and perplexed by contending passions of fear, hope, and terror.

Ah! my child, perhaps if I had not left you in the summer, but stayed and watched with maternal care all your little ailments, I might have had you still; but the disease was inveterate. He was opened, and his fatal malady ascertained—two tubercles upon his lung, and a pint of water upon his chest. The surgeon and medical men who attended thought the disease was inherent, and that nothing could have saved him, but even in the most inveterate hereditary diseases life is

[1] Sir Walter Farquhar (1738–1819), the well-known doctor: physician in ordinary to the Prince of Wales, and created a Baronet in 1796.

prolonged to a very advanced period by care. But it is over, and regret is now superfluous.

An interesting play, taken from the French, is now acting with success at Drury Lane.[1] The story is of a deaf and dumb boy found in the streets of Paris, who became from his infirmities a pupil of the celebrated Abbé d'Epée, who discovers great intelligence in the boy, and from various circumstances suspects he is of high origin, but abandoned from motives of interest by his family. This he infers from his distress at the meanness of his clothes, his expressions of delight at seeing a Chief Magistrate, whom he gives his patron to understand resembles in dress one who used to caress him. From a variety of incidents the Abbé at length traces that he is the orphan of a great magistrate, defrauded of his rights by a false guardian. I only mention the piece to show the spirit of the times.

The first night it was played, Theodore, the orphan, to show his talents, is asked to give his opinion who is the greatest genius France has produced. He replied, in writing, 'For science, D'Alembert, wit, Voltaire, sentiment, Rousseau.' This was deemed Jacobinical, and it is now strangely transposed, 'For science, Pascal, wit, Boileau, and *sentiment, Montesquieu.*' This is absurd, but, much as it is so, the fury of the times is very much abated within these few years, or rather year.

Lady Oxford passed a few days here with her daughter and sisters, and by a harmless *supercherie* she contrived that Sir Francis Burdett should be invited, a scheme I disliked, as she is so gentle and good that it pains me to see her a prey to him. Knight was here also. To use a vulgar phrase, he has corrupted her mind by filling her head with innumerable vain conceits, and

[1] *Deaf and Dumb*, first acted on February 24. It was a free translation of a play of Kotzebue.

teaching her to exclaim against institutions, especially that of marriage, to which she says she has been a helpless victim. If I were to see much of her she might perhaps be benefited, for as nobody can do more mischief to a woman than a woman, so perhaps might one reverse the maxim and say nobody can do more good. A little mild reproof and disapprobation of some of her doctrines might possibly rescue her from the gulf.

Soon after Fox's arrival in March (as mentioned already somewhere in these scrawls) a negotiation was set on foot to bring together all the opposers of Governt. to procure a degree of concert in their proceedings. Tierney was instrumental in getting Ld. Moira and Ld. Lansdown together. Soon after, a numerous meeting at the house of the former was held, where Fox, D. of Bedford, Grey, and others all came to an agreement as to their mode of acting in case of a Regency. The King recovered unexpectedly and rapidly, and the zealous *Patriots* dispersed.

Ld. Moira is offended, and thinks himself ill-used by the desertion of his new allies, who, immediately upon the chance of getting into power becoming more distant, each fled and followed his own devices. Tierney also is discontented, and declares himself no longer a party man, wishing it universally to be understood that he will not consider Fox as his leader.

Previous to the King's illness I was witness to rather an unpleasant scene at my own house between him and Grey, where the D. of Bedford was the moderator. The immediate cause of the dispute was that Sheridan most unjustifiably repeated and *added unto* a conversation held over a table when most of the hearers and talkers were drunk. The origin of the quarrel, however, was more remote. Tierney came into Parlt. entirely by his own talents, neither owed his election or his success

in the Committee to the interference of any of his political friends. Shortly after his becoming permanently seated, secession began to be rumoured; he had spoken several times, but had not then much distinguished himself. Fox still attending of course made him diffident of putting himself too forward, nor probably had he acquired the facility of speaking or weight enough to claim the notice of the House. At a meeting held in Mr. Fox's house upon the measure of seceding, he offered to resign his seat, adding that he felt it incompatible with his duty as a member of the H. of Commons to represent a body of people without fulfilling *actively* his engagements towards them; and submitted to the will of Fox what he should do. (Ye D. of Bedford, who was afterwards displeased with Tierney for his attendance, saying it spoilt the effect of secession, affects ignorance of this proposal of Tierney, but Fox himself, Fitzpatrick, and others, but especially the first, say that Tierney behaved well, because he behaved frankly.) Fox could not, and did not exact his renunciation of his seat, and he remained near three sessions alone, unassisted, and unsupported, Sheridan alone of the Foxites ever attending, and his attendance was as much directed against Tierney as it was against Pitt.

This solitary opposition was of infinite use to T. as an orator and as a public man; the daily use of his tongue taught him readily to debate, and his diligence, ability, and plainness acquired him the respect and confidence of the country. Successful as he was, he wanted aid; he knew the aristocratical temper of the House was such that the obscurity of his family would retard his progress, but that assisted by Grey he could be high and well propped. Grey was a fit subject to work upon; of an active, restless, unsatisfied temper, of boundless ambition, he found himself a prey to melancholy in calm retirement.

Chance threw them together in the neighbourhood of Ham. Tierney did not fail of encouraging his disposition to return, and strove to combat his feelings of remorse about Fox, who had merely in compliance to Grey and ye Duke of Bedford, adopted the measure of secession, a measure notoriously against his own judgment.[1] In short, Grey resumed his post in Parlt. Things went on smoothly, Grey made some capital speeches, the divisions of Ministers fell off, but Opposition gained nothing. Some of Fox's old friends, the *staunch* ones (such as Coke, Ld. J. Townshend, and a few others), were offended at being written to to attend, replying that no good could be done if Fox abstained from coming, and that without his presence they would not attend. Grey, always fickle, and generally desponding, grew soured; he saw Fox, and at length persuaded him to come up upon his motion upon the State of the Nation. Tierney, when he knew Fox was coming, expressed himself strongly upon the absurdity of Grey's going down to St. Anne's to get sense, and imprudently enough at the Friday Club declared his intention of keeping away on the day of the debate, unless Fox gave a pledge of his future attendance.

This was the conversation reported by Sheridan to Grey, and brought forth a burst of rage and indignation from Grey against Tierney. The expressions used on both sides were alarmingly strong. Upon T. saying he

[1] See *ante*, ii. 74. The general impression in the minds of Fox's followers all through this vexed question of secession appears to have been that those who did attend, and especially Tierney, were not really anxious for Fox's return to active political life, and preferred to make the most of their own opportunities. Hence the somewhat biassed feelings with which Lady Holland approaches the subject. Fox himself was perfectly ready and willing that anyone should attend who wished to do so, but there was an uneasy feeling which rankled in the hearts of his friends, that interested and insidious motives underlay the professions of goodwill towards him in certain quarters.

should withdraw himself, if Fox was to come down occasionally and Grey was not generally understood to be the leader, G. accused T. of deceiving him by betraying him into attending by promises of support. In short, the explanations and accusations were sharp and bitter on both sides.

The King's illness put a stop to the question; the motion was put off from day to day, and Fox came, grew eager, and coalesced with Moira, as has been mentioned elsewhere. The King's recovery, like magic, drove the whole set back to their hiding-places. Some fancied that Fox would have continued in town but for Mrs. A. and the expense of a house; upon which it was suggested to Ld. Hd. to hire one for him. This with his usual alacrity to serve his uncle, he did without hesitation, announced it to him by letter, and received the following reply.[1]

April 28, 1801.—When Tierney heard of his determination against coming, except to Tooke's business, he told Grey peremptorily that he should adhere to Ld. Moira and the neutrals. The assurance of attending Horne Tooke's question has not added to his popularity. In short, all are offended with him.

Holland House: April 30th, 1801.

Dissentient.

We deprecate and protest against this Measure because, as far as it may be carried into execution, it tends to dissolve the allegiance of the subject. A country over which Martial Law is exercised may be crushed or subdued, but it is not governed, much less is it practical. Allegiance is not more a duty on one side than pro-

[1] The letter is printed in the *Memorials and Correspondence of C. J. Fox*, iii. 189. In it he states that he thinks he will go to town no more that year. If he can be of service to the public or the party he would do so, but he can see no chance of doing any good.

tection on ye other; the character of subjects and of enemies cannot exist together. A military force can exercise nothing but the dominion of the sword. With respect to the people there is no government. We, therefore, conceive it to be our bounden duty, in our endeavours to preserve the Governt. of the United Kingdom, not to lose sight of those advantages which alone render it worth preserving.

THANET
ALBEMARLE
HOLLAND
KING.

This protest was entered against the Martial Law Bill for Ireland. The composition is Francis's, whose brevity and terseness make the performance nonsense.[1] Mr. Pitt remarked that the sentence which asserts the incompatibility of the character of subject and enemy is the precise definition of a traitor.

This foolish Protest made a great deal of noise; Ld. Clare moved the expunging it on account of its treasonable and seditious tendency, which was opposed by 17 peers, some of very respectable characters. I quarrelled with Francis, and would not make peace with him. His explanation was worse than the original offence; he declared that he disapproved of the sentiments, and feared the making them public would get the protesters into a scrape. Then *why* abet and assist what you think mischievous and of bad consequence to your friends?

Ld. Wycombe returned about a fortnight since from Paris, and tho' he will not see *me*, he has entrusted his journal for my inspection.

[1] This was a second protest against the Bill. Lord Clare moved on March 31 to have it expunged, and carried his point by ninety-two votes to twenty. The first protest remains on the Journals. It was signed by the same four Lords, and in addition by Lord Ponsonby.

'Paris, which I had known under so many different circumstances, and which I had originally known in times so very opposite to these. It is an observation of Thucydides that, in the country of which he was a native and of which he wrote, the traveller could not take a step without treading on historic ground. With equal truth may it be said that it is impossible to traverse Paris, without at each step being reminded of occurrences which are destined to become the materials of future history: occurrences which are the more striking, inasmuch as they have not been received by us on the faith of tradition obscured by the lapse of ages or gathered from the Annals of our ancestors, but have taken place within our own memories, have involved the fall of persons we ourselves have known, have overwhelmed institutions with which we have been personally conversant, and have already materially affected the destinies of the generation to which we belong.'

'The most eloquent discourse cannot half so well illustrate the character of human passion, the vicissitudes of human fortune, the vanity of human pursuits, and the instability of human things, as the aspect of this metropolis.'

'When we were within a few steps of the *Théâtre de la République* we were surprised by an explosion resembling the report of a cannon.[1] On stepping out of the carriage I perceived a column of smoke making its way over the tops of the houses. In an instant the rattling of cavalry announced the approach of the First Consul, who drove by us with rapidity. We entered the theatre lost in conjecture as to the probable cause of so strange and sinister an incident. We had but little disposition to attend

[1] The attempt to blow up Bonaparte on December 24 (3 Nivôse) 1800, referred to previously, ii. 127.

to the business of the drama, which was presently put a stop to by the account of that heinous atrocity which exhibits such a melancholy instance of the most deliberate depravity, and which had so nearly terminated the transcendent career of that illustrious man, whose fame will be more durable than the Pyramids he has visited, whose life is consumed in a succession of dangers, whose preservation should be dear not only to all good citizens, but to all good men, whose fortunes may be deemed inseparable from the fortunes of the Republic. The actor who came forward upon this occasion made the audience acquainted neither with extent or particulars of the misfortune which made it indecent to proceed. The theatre was immediately evacuated; guards were seen moving in various directions, and the measures of precaution were taken with a degree of calmness, quickness, precision, and intelligence which served to give me some idea of the perfection of the military system.

'No one was able to tell what was the number of persons who had been killed and wounded; but it was understood that the disaster had originated in an attempt to destroy the First Consul in his way to the Opera. At the portico of the Opera, I heard that the performance was going on without interruption, and that Bonaparte, unmoved, was partaking of the entertainment, which was an Oratorio,[1] as if nothing unusual had happened. The next morning heard a few particulars; some of the manner in which the Chief Consul had conducted himself. He appears to have expressed a conviction that in his situation and at a period like the present, such an occurrence was not to be considered as being justly matter of surprise. He told those who had an opportunity of seeing him that when, a short time before,

[1] The first performance in Paris of Haydn's *Creation*.

his life had been conspired against, he felt no particular solicitude in relation to the punishment of a crime which seemed to have him only for its object; but that now when the blow which was levelled at himself had fallen upon others, when the safety of a part of the population of the capital had been actually endangered, and when several individuals had become the innocent victims of so great an atrocity, he should not hesitate to demand a law authorising the immediate trial of those who might prove implicated in its guilt. That as to what regarded himself personally, he should die with as much glory at the head of the Legislature as he could do at the head of one of the armies of the Republic. To the Prefect of the Police [1] he expressed his dissatisfaction with an asperity which sufficiently proved that he imputed a defect of vigilance to that department.' . . .

'Went to the Review. In front of the Thuilleries were drawn up the Grenadiers of the Consular Guard, who had followed Bonaparte to Marengo, and had from their conduct in that memorable battle been compared by Berthier to a redoubt of granite. On ye remaining sides of the square were drawn up other troops. In the centre of the *place* were stationed the officers of the *État Major* on horseback, whose uniforms and accoutrements were splendid to the greatest degree. A beautiful cream-coloured Spanish horse, adorned with crimson velvet, magnificently embroidered in gold, was held in readiness for Bonaparte. A sudden burst of martial music, issuing from a profusion of instruments, proclaimed his descent from the Palace. He wears no plume. He is distinguished by the quietness of his deportment, the pensiveness of his aspect, and by the paleness of his countenance, which thought and watchfulness have worn. He was

[1] Fouché.

attended by his Mameluke. Mounted on his docile charger, he galloped thro' the ranks. The air resounded with acclamations of applause, to which he seemed insensible. His attention was confined to the troops. When he passed the colours he saluted with a singular propriety of manner. After having rapidly inspected the difft. corps, he rode to the centre of the ground, where he prescribed the evolutions of the day, which took up very little time. Nothing can exceed the precision and intelligence with which the whole manœuvre is conducted. I particularly remarked the fine appearance of the Pioneers, who, as well as the Grenadiers, seem to be picked men. The flying Artillery is much to be admired, but the horses of the Dragoons, altho' active, were inferior in beauty to those which are commonly purchased for the English Cavalry.' . . .

'One of the party had been in the society of the First Consul, where General Lannes was present, subsequent to the villainous attempt made in the Rue Nicaise. B. observed that when the circumstance took place he was a great way off in imagination, that the explosion had been heard by him without reflection, and that he was first excited to attend by Lannes, who was with him. General Lannes explained by saying that he thought at the time, by the breaking of the glasses, that musketry might be firing at them. 'Lannes,' said B., 'you are not of the Institute; if you were, you would have known that it was the air contained within my carriage which broke the windows of it.'

On 16th May, 1801, I dined at Mrs. Sharp's, in the City, on Irish Hill, to meet Horne Tooke. He was ill, and in all probability would not have kept his engagement, had he not been aware that the dinner was expressly made to give me an opportunity of seeing him, and wise as he is, he is not free from the frailty of the weak (and

oftentimes of the wise, as in this instance), in possessing a considerable portion of vanity, for he was gratified at knowing he was sought as a *sight*. He is an infirm, exhausted old man, with a mild, placid countenance, a small penetrating eye, and a flat, broad forehead. His manners are those of a remarkably high-bred, old-fashioned man of quality ; his sentences are precise, clear, and short. His language obsolete and affectedly so, but often productive of a happy and singular effect, witty and brief. He so evidently laboured under the pressure of bodily pain that he only *flashed*, but from those scintillations I could easily perceive what he must have been in his days of vigour, when his mind, unfettered by physical infirmity, could give itself full scope. His praises of Mr. Fox were extravagant. He said : 'God Almighty has made that man to show his omnipotence.' He said to Ld. H. : 'You see, my Lord, how your uncle has kicked me in the dirt!' The answer was puzzling, as it was difficult to know to what he alluded, but he explained by adding : 'He makes me despise myself. He, whom I have abused from the commencement of his political life, has been the first and only person who stood manfully forth in my defence.' [1]

17*th Nov.*, 1801.—Indisposition and indolence have combined to prevent my either writing, reading, or thinking for three several months back—after our return from Worthing. We stayed here about a month, during which period we went to Ld. King's at Ockham, to Roehampton, and dined at Chiswick, and at Dss. of Leinster's at Wimbledon. Went to Brighthelmstone, September 15th ; stayed there till October 21st. During that interval

[1] Horne Tooke stood against Charles Fox for Westminster in 1790 and in 1796, but was each time rejected by a large majority. Fox, however, strongly opposed the Bill, aimed at Horne Tooke, forbidding clergymen to sit in Parliament.

passed 6 days at Ld. Robert Spencer's at Woolbeding. I *called* at Goodwood, D. of Richmond's, on our way back to Brighton ; returned here October 22nd. Sleep occasionally at a house we have taken in Albemarle Street for the play-nights and the late nights in H. of Lords.

Peace has been made. Pitt continues supporting Ministers ; the Grenvilles are in open opposition.[1] A negotiation has just broken off between Grey and Ld. St. Vincent, the purport of which was to bring in G., the Duke of Bedford, and Ld. Moira into the Cabinet. Grey gave up Fox with a quibble ; the others excluded Sheridan, Lauderdale, and Lansdown ; insisted upon maintaining Ld. Clare in Ireland, and Ld. Hardwick. G. said, if he is kept, we must have a Ld.-Lt. ; they would not agree. Ld. Moira objected to D. of Portland ; King could not be made to give him up. The arrangement, when they came to terms, could not take place. G. used the D. of B.'s name further than he was warranted, I suspect. It is all over now ; only Tierney remains with Addington.

Fox was given up shamefully. For if ever one man was bound to follow the bad and good fortunes of another, it is surely Grey, whose vehement and rash judgment drove the other out of the high post he occupied ; and yet he is the first to negotiate and give him up. Fie, fie, for such patriots, when they are not true to their friends as private men. However, Grey is perfectly honest, only violent and irresolute, and easily swayed by sudden impressions. Pelham[2] is Secretary of State for the Home

[1] Lord Grenville refused to continue to support the Government, because of the utterly inadequate terms on which he considered peace had been obtained, and wrote to Addington, on October 14, informing him of his reasons.

[2] Lady Holland's old friend Thomas Pelham, now Lord Pelham. His father was created Earl of Chichester in June 1801.

Department: he is married to Lady Mary Osborne, the Duke of Leeds's sister, an amiable person, who will no doubt make him happy.

H. House, 18*th Nov.*, 1801.—General Fitzpatrick told us yesterday of a curious circumstance about a copy of Gibbon's works, which belonged to Mr. Fox. As a marginal note Fox wrote in the beginning of the book, 'This gentleman, on such a day, told me that the country could not be saved unless the heads of three or four of the Cabinet Ministers were laid upon the table of the House of Commons. On such a day, about a week after he delivered that opinion, he was made a Lord of Trade by those very men.' Topham Beauclerk, who was a *friend* of Gibbon's, offered him anything for the book, saying: 'I must soon die, and my books will be sold after my death by public auction, so Gibbon's shabbiness will be notorious and perpetuated.' Some time after, an execution was put into Mr. Fox's house, and his goods were seized, but, having been assigned over to Mr. Moore, their seizure was resisted. There was, in consequence, a trial in the Court of King's Bench, and one of the opposite counsel handed up this very book to Ld. Loughborough, to prove to him that Mr. Fox must have considered the book as his own, and not as Mr. Moore's, by the marginal notes, and that if necessary they should be read in court. Ld. L., who was a more cautious friend than Topham Beauclerk, gave the book back, saying it was unnecessary to read them to the court. Ye General was a party to the bond, and was in court himself when this passed.

Some months, passed in anxiety and grief, have elapsed since I even thought of this Journal. The winter had nearly proved fatal to Charles. Illnesses and relapses succeeded each other so rapidly, that his strength

was almost exhausted, and in February we almost ceased expecting that he could recover. He did, but to avoid the danger of a return, we are to pass the ensuing winter in a warm climate.

The death of the D. of Bedford followed. What did not that calamity cost me! In him I lost the truest and best friend I possessed. His society was amongst the greatest of my pleasures. I loved and respected him, and was proud to see intimately the man on whom the eyes of the public were turned with approbation and confidence. He died as he had lived, an example to all who saw him. At the close of a medical consultation about Charles, on ye 28th of Feb., Dr. Vaughan wished me joy of the success of the operation which had been performed the eve. before upon the D. of B. Frightened at this I asked an explanation, and heard from Mr. Knight, the surgeon (who was here for Charles), the nature of the disease.

We left H. H. on the 8th of July (1802), with the following persons belonging to us, ourselves, Charles, Henry Edward,[1] Mr. Allen, Mr. Howard, and little Marsh, for Paris.

We had apartments taken for us some time before we came; they are very spacious and convenient, the whole *rez-de-chaussée* of the Hotel Beauveau, Faubourg St. Honoré. The next day we went to Maret,[2] the Minister, to see the parade. The Carrousel has been considerably extended, and 15,000 troops can manœuvre in it. The explosion of the infernal machine, by destroying some houses, rendered it more easy to enlarge the

[1] Afterwards fourth Lord Holland. He was born on March 7, 1802.

[2] Hugues Bernard Maret (1763–1839), created Duc de Bassano in 1809. Appointed Secretary of State, after the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire, he succeeded Bourrienne as the Emperor's secretary in 1804. Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1811.

court. The Brazen Horses from Venice are placed upon the Grille which runs across the Carrousel; they stand separate, and produce a very poor effect.[1]

Nothing can be more splendid than the uniforms of the officers, and the housings of the horses. The Consul rides a fine white Arabian. He is known amidst his officers by the plainness of his dress and unlaced black hat. The corps of Mamelukes appeared for the first time; their sudden and uncombined evolutions give a wildness to their appearance that shows a little what they must be when attacking in reality. The town was illuminated in the evening, and as carriages were prohibited in the streets, we walked, and saw everything with the greatest ease and facility. There were public dinners given by the Government to some hundreds of the soldiers at each public garden.

When I first came, I saw much of Madame de Coigny, but latterly less; she is inquisitive and talkative.

On the 15th of Fructidor, Mr. Fox was presented to Bonaparte, who seems to have studied how to receive him in a distinguished manner. He addressed him in a speech evidently got by heart and of course highly complimentary. The purport was that he was the greatest man of one of the greatest countries, and that his voice had always been exerted on the side of humanity and justice, and that to its influence the world owed the blessings of peace.

On Saturday, the 21st August, 1802, we went with the General,[2] Ld. Robert,[3] and Frederick,[4] and we took

[1] The horses, which were taken from Venice in 1797 and were restored in 1815, stood on the triumphal arch in the Carrousel.

[2] General Fitzpatrick.

[3] Lord Robert Spencer.

[4] Hon. Frederick Ponsonby (1783–1837), second son of Frederick, third Earl of Bessborough. He became a Major-General and K.C.B., and was Governor of Malta from 1826 till 1835. He married, in 1825, Emily, daughter of the third Earl Bathurst.

Charles to St. Cloud. It was a palace belonging formerly to the Dukes of Orleans, but poor Marie Antoinette liked it, and is accused of having exerted her royal influence to compel the late Duke to sell it, which he did most reluctantly. She was so partial to its beauties that she was profuse in her expense to decorate it. In each taste the First Consul imitates her, as he is so impatient to take possession that the surveyors are obliged to make the men work all night; and he likes it so much that no expense is spared to render it a fit residence for the Sovereign of France. The gallery remains as it was finished by Gaston, Duke of Orleans, Louis XIII's brother; only on the panels some of the plunder of Italy, which was in the Museum of the Louvre, has been placed, much to their disadvantage, as the gaudy ceiling and rich gilding kills the colouring of the pictures. They are capital; some of my old acquaintances out of the Palais Pitti. The apartments that are fitted up are done in *le goût sévère*, which, in other words, means a dark and dingy style. The walls are hung with cloth, and draperies of cloth edged with magnificent deep parti-coloured fringes are festooned over it. The colours being generally dark green and brown produce a solemn effect, and the whole has a sombre military appearance; the rods of the curtains are finely polished spears. Where the Queen's apartments have been preserved, I admire them far beyond those in the *goût sévère*, and prefer bright gilding to the heavy mahogany, and a well-stuffed sofa to a small, hard one. In short, the exchange is a bad one, *les ris et les amours* please me, broad cloth and sphinxes do not. The Library is very pretty, and the books placed in very appropriate cases, plain and simple, but at the same time rich and decorated. The gardens are insignificant, but if the Consul continues to like living there, I doubt not he will find means to

extend them, tho' as yet I only look upon St. Cloud as a halt on the road to Versailles.

On Sunday, ye next day, we went with a large party to Versailles, where we expected to see the *Eaux* play, but we had been misled. We dined at *Le petit Trianon*, formerly a favourite little palace of the Queen's, with a garden *à l'Anglaise*; but what I did admire indeed is *Le grand Trianon*, a most noble palace. The centre, instead of a *corps-de-logis*, is a peristyle composed of a double row of large marble columns; the front to the garden is very large and grand, only a *rez-de-chaussée*. The garden is thoroughly in the French style, broad and spacious walks, fountains, alleys, *cabinets de verdure*; in short, just what a garden should be near a large house.

We went from thence to Versailles. What a change from former days! We walked along the Terrace, and so to the *Orangerie*, where there are trees in tubs as large as any I ever saw growing either at Nice or Naples in the common ground. One old tree they call *François Premier*, and they add that it is 400 years old. It is satisfactorily proved by a *procès verbal* that it belonged to the Constable of Bourbon, and was confiscated with the rest of his property, and so came to François I. Our party was numerous: Mr. and Mrs. Fox, Ld. Robert, the General, Mr. Allen, Frederick Ponsonby, Miss Adair, Heathcote, St. John, Trotter,[1] Smith (the Petrarch of Carolina's brother), Green.

The following is a list of those who dined with us at Paris in July, August, and part of September, 1802.

[1] John Bernard Trotter (1775–1818), who accompanied Fox to assist him in transcribing certain material for his *History of the Reign of James II.* He became his private secretary in 1806, and published *Memoirs* of the later years of his chief's life in 1811, including an account of this visit to Paris.

La Fayette, who is indebted to Bonaparte for his liberty, has, since his return to his native country, resided chiefly upon the small estate the Revolution has not deprived him of at La Grange. Bonaparte affected to consult the nation whether he should be Consul for life; was answered by La Fayette, who wrote a gentle but able remonstrance upon the subject. Bonaparte was little enough, when an army promotion took place, to pass over La Fayette's son and nephew; he has, however, promoted them since. His son was educated in Washington's house, appears very amiable; he was just married.[1]

Andréossy[2] is the son of an obscure man of Italian origin, employed by Riquet in the Languedoc Canal. He was born at Castelnaudary, educated at Sorèze, and served under the *ancien régime* as an engineer. He made some campaigns in Italy, went to Egypt, was there employed upon an expedition to ye Lake Menzalah, and returned in the vessel which brought the First Consul to France. He has since been named to ye Embassy of England. He lived very much with us. He is a plain *Militaire* in his manner, and if he offends it will be unintentional, as he is disposed to maintain peace and amity between the two countries.

Caffarelli,[3] brother of a general of the same name

[1] Washington George Louis, Marquis de la Fayette (1779–1849), Washington's godson, and a French deputy. La Fayette's son-in-law, De Lasteyrie, had finally to leave the army on account of the treatment he received.

[2] Antoine François, Count Andréossy (1761–1828), grandson of the maker of the Languedoc Canal. He was appointed Ambassador to England early in 1802, but left upon the recommencement of war. He was successively Ambassador at Vienna (1809), and at Constantinople (1812).

[3] Charles Ambroise de Caffarelli (1758–1826), born at Falga. Originally a priest, he left the Church on the outbreak of the Revolution, and after suffering imprisonment held several posts under Napoleon. After the Restoration he again took up his ecclesiastical

killed before Acre. He is a fellow townsman and school companion of Andréossy, and like him descended from an Italian family brought by Riquet to work at the Canal. He is a remarkably displeasing person in his manner, a sycophant and court echo of the ante-chamber of Bonaparte; from love of order and morality always proclaiming that the First Consul and his wife sleep in the same bed, and that the domestic virtues of a warrior are more important than his heroic deeds. In short, from him one collects the disgusting cant which is to be employed by the present Governt. as a counterpoise to the wild extravagant opinions of atheism and immorality set afloat under the first constitution of the Republic.

Valence,[1] a general who served in the first campaigns under Dumouriez, a good-humoured, boasting, bluff Papa.

Mde. de V., daughter of Mde. de Sillery, a beauty on the wane, pleasing and clever.

Abbé St. Fard, a son of the Duke of Orleans, father to the unfortunate *Égalité*; remarkably obliging, and, tho' not distinguished for talents, very popular, and a person one cannot but like.

Duc de Duras,[2] a *ci-devant Duc* returned, but not reconciled to the changes in his country.

duties. His brother, Louis, was a distinguished general, and had already lost a leg when he joined the Egyptian expedition.

[1] Cyrus-Marie de Timburne-Timbronne, Comte de Valence (1757–1822). He served under Dumouriez, but did not desert the French cause for the Austrian. He sent in his resignation, however, shortly after, and came to England. He returned to France after 18 Brumaire, and commanded a division in Spain and Russia. He married a daughter of Madame de Genlis.

[2] Amédée-Bretagne-Malo de Durfort, Duc de Duras (1771–1838). He was attached to the suite of Louis XVIII. when in exile, but returned to France during the Consulate. He married Claire de Kersaint (1779–1828), the well-known writer and friend of Chateaubriand.

Lally Tollendal,[1] the epitome of sentiment. By some inconceivable freak imagined himself to be the son of Count Lally, executed for the surrender of Pondicherry. Whilst at college he heard the story ; his birth was obscure and even mysterious. A flight into the region of fancy made him imagine himself the son of the state culprit (but not till after his execution) ; he then pleaded for him. He is returned to France after an absence of many years, but, like many who were distinguished at first, he returns but to see his insignificance and the indifference of the Governt. to these, many of whom conceived themselves to be of the utmost importance.

Psse. d'Hesnin [*sic*], an excellent woman, formerly about the Queen, attached for many years to Lally.

Mde. Flahaut.[2] A volume would not suffice. An agreeable adventuress, who after failing in various projects, both upon English and French, at last has closed her tempestuous career by marrying Souza, ye Portuguese Minister. She has written some pretty novels ; her conversation consists more in a narrative of the good things

[1] Trophime Gérard, Comte de Lally-Tollendal (1751–1830), the legitimate son of Lally, of Indian fame, and Félicité Crafton. At the outbreak of the Revolution he sided with the Third Estate, but disgusted with excesses he went over to the Court party and was obliged to fly to England. He returned to France after 18 Brumaire, and was made a peer by Louis XVIII.

[2] Adélaïde Marie Filleul (1761–1836). She married the Comte de Flahaut, who was more than three times her age, when eighteen. She went abroad at the commencement of the Revolution, and after the Count's death on the scaffold, supported herself and her son by her pen. She returned to France in 1798, and married, in 1802, the Portuguese Minister in Paris, the Marquis de Souza-Botelho. Her novels are well known, among the most celebrated being *Adèle de Sénanges* and *Emilie et Alphonse*.

Her son, Auguste Charles Joseph (1785–1870), served with distinction in Napoleon's wars, and resided outside France from 1815 to 1830. Returning after the Revolution he held various high diplomatic posts, and was Ambassador to England from 1860 to 1862. He married, in 1817, Baroness Keith and Nairn, and one of his daughters married the fourth Marquess of Lansdowne.

she has said than in those she actually does say. Her son, a fine, open young man. He is handsome and uncommonly engaging in his manners and countenance.

Girardin,[1] an *élève* of Jean Jacques, and proprietor of Ermenonville. He was eager in the beginning of Revolution; emigrated for a short time; is now a Tribune, and intimate friend of Joseph Bonaparte's. He is not an *Emile*, but good-natured. His love of independence and the naked truth for the sake of truth will never expose him to the straits a patriot must undergo. He will shift in time.

Gallois,[2] a Tribune, uncommonly interesting in his manner, with a countenance that proclaims his talents and gentle, amiable heart.

Abbé Morellet,[3] an old *économiste*. Sprightly, altho' he is turned of eighty.

Molé,[4] a descendant of the great President of that name. We knew him well in England; a mild, gentlemanlike young man, very unlike a young Frenchman.

Chevalier Acerbi,[5] an Italian Cisalpine. He travelled to North Cape, and has published two 4to. vols. of his journey; a clever man, great facility of languages.

[1] René Louis, Marquis de Girardin (1735–1808), who distinguished himself in the Seven Years' War, and afterwards settled at Ermenonville. There he gave an asylum to Rousseau, who died in his house. He was fortunate in saving his life in the Terror, and left France to return after the troubles were over.

[2] Jean Antoine Gallois (1761–1828), the friend of Cabanis. He was made President of the Tribunate in 1802. He took but little part in politics after 1814.

[3] André Morellet (1727–1819), French writer. Made a Senator in 1808.

[4] Louis Mathieu, Comte de Molé (1781–1855), who was imprisoned with his father in 1794, but escaped death owing to his youth, and came to England. He held various offices under Napoleon, and was continued in his employment by Louis XVIII. He continued to take a leading part in politics until 1851, and held several important posts.

[5] Giuseppe Acerbi (1773–1846), an Italian naturalist. His book was first published in English. He was Austrian Consul-General in Egypt, 1826–36.

Le Chevalier de la Bintinaye, nephew of the *ci-devant* Archbishop of Bordeaux.

Marquise de Coigny, celebrated for her wit. Her daughter, a charming girl.

Narbonne.[1] The scandalous chronicles of the old Court report that he is the son of Mde. Adélaïde of France. He is strikingly like the Bourbons, but depraved as were the manners, it is too repugnant to nature to credit the whole story. His conversation is brilliant, full of lively sallies, and, upon the whole, he is one of the most agreeable persons in society I ever met with. He was Minister of War for a moment just after the King accepted the Constitution. He is attached to Mde. de Staël, who has the most uncontrolled dominion over his opinions and conduct. His person is a more divided property. He used to be Talleyrand's intimate friend, but Mde. Grand, finding him averse to her elevation, by degrees broke the friendship.

Ségur,[2] son of the Comte, a promising, rising young man, married to Mde. d'Aguesseau's daughter.

Young Ségur, a flippant lad, vain of having made under McDonald a campaign, which he has written, and of having gone, by order of Bonaparte, with more celerity than was ever done, from Paris to Madrid and back again.

[1] Louis, Comte de Narbonne (1755–1813). He was son of one of Princess Elizabeth's ladies, possibly by Louis XV. At any rate he was educated at the Court, and given a position in Madame Adélaïde's suite. He escorted the Princesses to Rome in 1791. After his return he was made War Minister by Madame de Staël's influence, but only held the post three months. He fled abroad soon after, and did not return till after 18 Brumaire. He offered his services to Napoleon, and was variously employed by him until his death of typhus at Torgau.

[2] Octave Gabriel, Comte de Ségur (1778–1818), son of Louis Philippe, Comte de Ségur, and Antoinette d'Aguesseau. He married his first cousin, daughter of Henri Cardin d'Aguesseau. He showed great literary promise, but drowned himself in the Seine in 1818.

His brother, Philippe Paul (1780–1873), gained much distinction by his military services, and became a recognised writer on military history.

Age and some well-directed rebuffs will be of infinite service to him.

Mde. d'Aguesseau.

Jaucourt,[1] a Tribune. Under the days of the Court he was distinguished for his *galanterie* and *dévouement* in affairs of intrigue. There is a famous anecdote of his losing his thumb not to betray a lady whose house he quitted by stealth at daybreak. The Swiss heard a noise at the gate, and shut it with violence ; Jaucourt's thumb was crushed, but he made no noise, and for many years the adventure was secret. He is now married, according to the licence allowed by the Revolution, to Mde. de la Châtre. He is an agreeable man, she is clever.

Abbé Casti.[2] I will not do to him what an injudicious panegyrist has done to Ariosto, whose epitaph is laden with an enumeration of his works. Suffice it to say that his last work is inferior to all his others—*Gli animali parlanti,* a poem as dull and as ill-conceived as Dryden's *Hind and Panther. Those* discuss polemical questions, and Casti's reason upon the abstract principles of Governt. He is very old, and worn out by every species of debauchery and excess ; his eyes twinkle at times, and show a trace of his former life, but they are but rare scintillations.

Rumford, ye Yankee philanthropist. I have often named him elsewhere.

Le Chevalier,[3] a most cordial, warm-hearted, zealous

[1] Arnail François, Marquis de Jaucourt (1757–1852), born of a Protestant family. He escaped death during the Terror and left France in 1793. After his return in 1800 he became a Tribune and a Senator, and later held several offices under Louis XVIII.

[2] Giambattista Casti (1721–1803). Born at Montefiasconi, he entered the Church, but gave up a canonry at his native town to travel. He is best known by his poems, and became Poet Laureate of Austria after the death of Metastasio.

[3] Jean Baptiste Chevalier (1752–1836), secretary to the Ambassador to Turkey, Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, with whom he travelled in

man. He travelled to the plain of Troy with Sir Francis Burdett, and has written upon it, which has given rise to a fresh controversy. He is employed *au Bureau des relations extérieures*, merely from Talleyrand's friendship for him. His language is not calculated to obtain him promotion in his career, nor is he trusted with anything, his place being a sinecure and more a pension than an employment.

Monteron[1] [*sic*] one of the unfortunate Duke of Orléans' set, a complete *mauvais sujet*, but an agreeable *vaurien*. He was one of the Dsse. de Fleury's husbands, but has regained his liberty.

Markoff,[2] the Russian Ambassador, a *rusé* diplomat, scurvily treated by Bonaparte, who seems to make a point of saying offensive things before him.

M. de Grave,[3] an obliging driveller.

Abbé Dillon, brother of the Beau Dillon,[4] &c. Knew him in Paris in 1790, afterwards in Italy and England. A conceited *bel esprit*, with too much pretensions.

Asia Minor in 1784–6. He remained abroad during the Revolution, and on his return was made keeper of the Sainte-Geneviève library.

[1] Casimir, Comte de Montrond (1768–1843). He was incarcerated during the Terror, and met in prison Mlle. de Coigny (Duchesse de Fleury), the *Jeune Captive* of André Chénier, whom he soon afterwards married. After his divorce he became the bosom friend of Talleyrand, and was one of the best known men in French society until obliged to fly the country in 1812 on account of intrigues against Napoleon.

[2] Arcadi Ivanovitch Markoff, the favourite of Catherine II. He was appointed Ambassador to Paris in 1801, but was recalled ere long at the instance of Napoleon, who feared his diplomatic skill and *finesse*. He held several other diplomatic posts, and died at a great age.

[3] Perhaps Pierre Marie, Marquis de Grave (1755–1823), successor to Narbonne as War Minister. He only held the post a few months, as he was obliged to leave the country on account of his devotion to Louis. Trotter says Madame Roland describes him in one of her works as ' a good-natured little man, unfit for an ordinary situation—rolling his blue eyes and falling asleep over his coffee.'

[4] Edouard Dillon, son of Robert Dillon, and his second wife, Miss Dicconson ; one of a family of thirteen.

Calonne. One may say of him as Johnson did of Garrick, that his loss has removed a stock of harmless amusement from society. He was delightful; with all the freshness and vivacity of youth, he had the taste and refinement of riper years. Tho' he allowed himself to range in the regions of fancy, when he ought to have been restrained by the strictness of veracity, yet he did it with such liveliness and wit that one compounded for the lost fact in hearing the facetious story. He was *murdered* by an unskilful physician a very short time after we quitted Paris.

Talma,[1] the celebrated tragedian. His voice is bad, nor is his conception of his part always correct. He is the person who has introduced the severity and perfection of costume in the theatre. He is not clever and not well informed.

Abbé Sicard,[2] the successor of Abbé de L'Épée. He brought with him his most intelligent pupil *Massieu.* The pains he bestows upon the unhappy objects confided to his care entitle him to much praise; the lectures are worth seeing once, but to those who stand not in need of this assistance are soon tedious.

Bertrand.[3] I knew him in Italy. He is a friend of Mde. d'Albany's, and belongs to the society of Mde. de Souza, Morellet, &c., &c. He is declining fast; he was a lively man.

[1] Joseph François Talma (1763–1826), the friend of David. He was educated as a dentist, and first went on the stage in 1787. He quite overcame a certain thickness of speech and stiffness of manner, and was later justly celebrated for the purity of his accent.

[2] Roch Amboise Sicard (1742–1822), the head of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum in Paris initiated by the Abbé de l'Épée. The objective of this institution, which still exists, has been to educate the inmates so as to fit them to go out into the world and earn their own living.

[3] Possibly Antoine Henri Bertrand the sculptor. He worked for some years in Italy with Canova.

Charles de Noailles,[1] an uncommonly handsome man, son of the Prince de Poix. He lived very much in England, and at one time with the Prince, who grew jealous at Mrs. Fitzherbert's partiality to him, which occasioned their rupture. He has much more sense and useful knowledge than one might suppose from a slight acquaintance with him he possessed.

The English who dined with us were Mr. and Mrs. Fox, Ld. Robert Adair, St. John, Mr. Trotter, Mr. Clarke, Green, Heathcote, Kemble, Pinkerton, Fitzpatrick, 2 Erskines, Mr. Merry, Lens, Abbé Roberts, Banks, Mrs. H. Fox, Mr. Neave, Miss Townshend, Mr. Parish, St. Leger, Tuyle, Warner, Francis, A. St. Leger, Capt. Jones, Jerningham. We dined twice at Sieyès; once at Cambacères's and Lucchesini's; often at Talleyrand's; once at Versailles with the Caumonts and Andréossys.

The Hollands left Paris on September 20, 1802, for a tour in the South of France and Spain. They did not return to England till April 1805. The Journal continues until April 8, but is omitted from these pages.

July 24th, 1806.—The Russians have made a separate peace.[2] The Cabinet have determined upon sending a

[1] Charles de Noailles, afterwards Duc de Mouchy (1771–1834), eldest son of Philippe de Noailles, Prince de Poix. He left France in 1792 and came to England, where he remained till the Consulate. On his return he continued his career in the army, and became Field-Marshal in 1815. He was the bearer of the message from the Provisional Government in 1814 asking Louis XVIII. to return to France.

[2] With the battle of Austerlitz, late in 1805, ended all hope of a successful European coalition against Napoleon. The wavering counsels of the Prussian Cabinet were decided once and for all by the action of their envoy, Haugwitz, who concluded a treaty with Napoleon upon receipt of news of the battle. The Austrians had to take the best terms they could obtain, and by the Treaty of Presburg, in December, retired from the struggle bereft of their fairest provinces. Napoleon, who had given the kingdom of Naples to his brother, Joseph, now turned to make peace with England. He found Fox, the new Foreign Minister, less pliant than he had hoped. The restitution of

person upon an extraordinary Mission to Portugal, and have chosen Lauderdale for that purpose, and he has accepted. Ld. St. Vincent is to follow with the fleet, and be joined in the Commission; the nature of the appointment to be the same as Ld. Minto and Ld. Hood were at Toulon. It is proposed, if Portugal be invaded, that we should carry off (*vi et armis*) the Royal family, and such as choose to follow their fortunes, and establish them at *Brésil*. A French army of 90,000 men is assembled at Bayonne for the invasion of Portugal. Eugène Beauharnais, the Viceroy of Italy, is to have the command of it; the attack is to be made by Galicia.

25*th*.—The preliminaries of peace between France and Russia have been signed by d'Oubril, though he knew at the time that Basilico was on his road to Paris with dispatches from our Governt. He signed three hours after he knew of his landing at Boulogne. The following stipulations form the basis of the peace. The Russians are to return Corfu, but they are not to keep more than 4000 men in garrison there. Dalmatia and Ragusa are left to the French. The Montenegrins are not to be punished for the successful resistance which, in conjunction with the Russians, they have opposed to the

Hanover, which had been handed over to Prussia a few months before, was insisted upon, as well as the maintenance in Sicily of Ferdinand. To the former demand Napoleon agreed, and seemed inclined to accede to the latter request, until he found that the Russian envoy, d'Oubril, was prepared to throw over England, and sign a separate treaty. He then changed his tone and demanded the cession of Sicily to Joseph; but by so doing lost the opportunity for peace with both countries, for the Czar repudiated the preliminaries signed by d'Oubril, and Fox recalled his envoy from Paris. The failure of these negotiations put an end for the moment to Napoleon's designs on Portugal. A large portion of the French army never actually reached Bayonne, but was elsewhere employed against the Prussians. Lord St. Vincent remained with his fleet at Lisbon until it was evident that the danger of an invasion of Portugal was past; and a large force of troops, under Lord Rosslyn, who had been assembled at Plymouth to await eventualities, was at the same time disbanded.

French arms, but this amnesty does not extend to any offences which they may have committed against their lawful Sovereign. Sicily is left exposed to the French without a stipulation in its favour. No provision of any sort is made for the ex-King of Naples, nor is there any allusion to him in the Treaty, except a declaration on the part of the French that they have no objection to the King of Sicily *et sa femme* (they will not call her Queen) finding an asylum wherever they can. By a secret article, Minorca, Majorca, and Iviza are to be transferred from Spain to the D. of Calabria, on condition that the ports of these islands shall be shut against the English. The Russians agree to exclude the English from all their ports in the Mediterranean. The French are to be allowed six months[1] to evacuate Germany. The present Treaty must be ratified within twenty-five days.

On the day following this extraordinary transaction, Ld. Yarmouth[2] presented his credentials to the F. Governt., though his instructions were not to present them at all, till the basis of the pacification was settled. This step of Ld. Y.'s is very reprehensible, as it may give d'Oubril a pretext to justify his conduct.

The terms of peace originally offered by Talleyrand and conveyed to Mr. Fox by Ld. Y. were very advantageous to this country; indeed, so extremely so, that as the

[1] Three months (*Annual Register* for 1806, Chapter ix.).

[2] Francis Charles, Earl of Yarmouth (1777–1842), eldest son of Francis, second Marquess of Hertford, whom he succeeded in the titles in 1822. He married, in 1798, Maria Fagniani. He had been one of those English who were detained in France after the rupture of the peace of Amiens. He was released early in June owing to Fox's personal intervention, and was a bearer of a verbal message from Talleyrand to him on the subject of peace. As it was necessary to keep these communications secret, and as Lord Yarmouth's return to his family in France would not in any way excite attention, Fox sent him back to Paris with orders to conduct the subsequent negotiations with the French Government.

proposals were verbally made, much doubt was entertained of Ld. Y.'s accuracy in reporting them, and he owed entirely his being employed in the negotiation to the doubts of his veracity. The *uti possidetis* on both sides was to be the basis of the treaty. Hanover was to be restored to the K. of E., in return for our acknowledgment of Bonaparte's newly-created Kings. No further changes were to be made in Germany or Switzerland. The integrity of Spain and Portugal was to be guaranteed in both Hemispheres. We were not to interfere with the settlement of Italy or Holland. Upon a distant hint being thrown out about commercial arrangements, 'Nous voulons être maîtres chez nous' was the reply. When Sicily was mentioned, *Talleyrand*, who had spoken the above, exclaimed, 'Mais que voulez vous? Vous l'avez.' Our Cabinet readily assented to these terms (in addition to which it was hinted that Bonaparte was disposed to concur with Mr. F. in taking measures for the general abolition of the Slave Trade, but this was intended as a sneer. When Talleyrand read the resolutions of the H. of Commons upon the subject of the S. Trade, he said there was another Act of Parliament much more necessary, one for which the Spaniards, Portuguese, and Germans called out most loudly, '*Et cette acte du Parlement, c'est la paix*'), and Ld. Y. was sent back to Paris with full assent to his message. But when he arrived there he found the views of the French Governt. materially changed in the most important point. They now demanded that Sicily should be ceded to them in order to be re-annexed to the kingdom of Naples. Joseph, the new King, had represented that his kingdom of Naples would not be secure without the possession of Sicily, and the French engineers had given in a report that Sicily could be subdued with much more ease than they had at first supposed. On these grounds, which the French

have the assurance to represent as *new occurrences* since their first overtures to Ld. Y., they pretend to justify their deviation from their original proposals, and they offered to the King of Sicily, in exchange for that island, to make him King of Dalmatia and Albania.[1] D'Oubril, the Russian negotiator, who was by this time at Paris, and who had been privy to everything done by our Cabinet, was caught by this last proposal, and expressed his opinion decidedly in favour of it. In the cession of Dalmatia to the King of Sicily, he fancied that he saw the elevation of power which would remove the French to a greater distance from the frontiers of Turkey, and prove in future a bulwark against the extension of their empire in that quarter. He was ready, as Mr. Fox observed, to sacrifice a well-understood English object to an ill-defined Russian one. This modification of the original project was received here with great disappointment and ill-humour, and was considered as a breach of faith on the part of the French. We contended that no event had happened which could justify any departure from the first proposals. We could not consent to transfer Albania from its present possessors, who were the friends and allies of England, in order to make compensation to the K. of Sicily for the loss of his dominions, which it was equally our interest and our duty to defend. Dalmatia alone was not to be mentioned as an equivalent for Sicily. But to show our disposition to accommodate matters, it was at length proposed as a compromise, that Dalmatia should be given to the King of Sardinia, with the title of King; and since the new K. of Naples was desirous to have a greater extent of sea-coast, that Sardinia, together with the other Spanish Islands of Majorca, &c., should be added to his kingdom; Sicily on

[1] Talleyrand first offered the Hanse Towns.

no account could we yield. The Minute which Mr. Fox drew up for the Cabinet, in which he states his reasons compressed into 8 or 10 sentences, is the most able summary ever penned.

In this state of the negotiation, d'Oubril, who a few days before had reminded Mr. Fox of the expression of '*piano piano,*' which he had used in his letter to Czartorisky upon the Grand Confederacy forming last year, signed the peace, the outline of which I have just noted. His excuse for this conduct is said to be the danger to which Russia would be exposed, if they were to persuade Turkey and compel Austria to join in a coalition against her. Austria is so much reduced that she must comply with whatever France demands, and French influence domineers at Constantinople. But these are not supposed to be the true reasons for his conduct. The late changes in the private councils of St. Petersburg are suspected to have had a greater share in determining him, and it is even said that, on the strength of those, he has ventured to take this important step without instructions from his Court. He says, 'He is gone back to lay his Treaty and head at the feet of his Master.'

Czartorisky,[1] the late Minister of Russia, is a Pole of great consideration and high rank in Poland. He owed his elevation to the partiality of the Empress, who was passionately in love with him. He afterwards became a favourite with Alexander; he played the truant to his mistress, who was for a length of time quite inconsolable at his infidelities. The Empress is with child at present.

[1] Adam Georges Czartoriski (1770–1861). He was first brought to Petersburg as a hostage, but gained the Emperor's friendship, and was made Foreign Minister at his accession. The views he held were liberal and enlightened, and every influence he possessed over his master was for the best. Despairing, however, of carrying out his schemes he resigned in 1807, but still retained the Emperor's ear.

26th.—It is determined to send a military man to Portugal, and Ld. Rosslyn [1] has been fixed upon for the mission. Ld. H. immediately proposed to him to take Brougham, if he had any person in a civil capacity. He promised to propose him to Ld. Grenville. There is an idea of employing Dumouriez.

Sr. Sidney Smith has taken the Isle of Capri, and the French have been worsted in several encounters in Calabria. Hopes are entertained that we shall be able to defend Sicily against the French, with the aid alone of the Sicilians. The Queen and Duke of Calabria, who are surrounded by persons suspected of being secretly in the French interest, are eager for carrying the war into Calabria.

Great dissatisfaction at Ld. Yarmouth's conduct, and another negotiator must go. Ld. Holland not being able to leave his uncle, Lauderdale, as the next best person, is to go. It is a sad mortification, as it has long been the darling hope of uncle and nephew; but it would be impossible to go, as Ld. H., besides being useful, is also one of the greatest comforts to Mr. Fox. Mr. F. so ill that none of the last transactions of the preceding three days have been communicated to him.

27th July.—Mr. Fox stronger, and in better spirits to-day, but there is no material change in his complaint. The news of the Russian Treaty, and the determination of sending Lauderdale to Paris, were communicated to him by Ld. Howick. Upon hearing that L. was to go to Paris, he exclaimed, 'Why does not Holland go?' Ld. Howick was perplexed, and stammered by way of excuse the 'suddenness of the departure'; upon which Fox said, 'Oh, I understand you!' and immediately changed

[1] James, second Earl of Rosslyn (1762–1837), nephew of the Lord Chancellor, whom he succeeded in 1805. He had already served in Portugal, 1796–9, as second-in-command to Sir Charles Stuart.

the subject. When he saw Ld. Holland about an hour afterwards, he began with saying, 'So, young one, you won't go to Paris'; on Ld. Holland's answering that he preferred staying, as he thought he was a comfort to him, he caught his hand and said, with great emotion, 'Yes, a comfort indeed,' and was for several minutes quite overcome and shedding tears. This circumstance is the first event which has given him any apprehension about his own danger.

D'Oubril has written to Stroganoff [1] that he signed the preliminaries with Ld. Yarmouth's approbation. Ld. Yarmouth in his dispatches says quite the contrary. Copies of the letters have been sent to St. Petersburg. Our Ministers are greatly displeased with Ld. Yarmouth for having presented his credentials the very day after d'Oubril signed, and are not without fear that he may be bullied or won into signing the preliminaries without further instructions. There are some unpleasant suspicions afloat about Ld. Y., especially upon the score of stock-jobbing.[2] General Clarke [3] is the person named to negotiate with him; he was employed upon d'Oubril's business. The French already show a disposition since the signature of the Russian Treaty, to rise in their demands. They have thrown out hints that they expect *St. Lucia* and *Tobago* to be restored to them, and Ld. Y. has of his own head suggested that *Cuba* should be ceded to the King of Naples, who cannot be reduced to live as a fugitive or subject in the dominions of his son. Ld. Y. is suspected of concealments in his report of his negotia-

[1] The Russian Ambassador in England.

[2] Lord Holland in the *Memoirs of the Whig Party* maintained his entire disbelief in these rumours.

[3] Henri Jacques Guillaume Clarke (1765–1818), afterwards created Duc de Feltre. He was War Minister 1807–13, and held the same post under Louis XVIII. in 1815. It was said of him, 'C'est l'homme d'épée qui doit le plus à sa plume.'

tions. A messenger went off instructing him not to proceed in any way, but wait L.'s arrival. Notwithstanding their displeasure, Ld. Y. has been joined in the Commission with Ld. Lauderdale.

28*th*.—Mr. Fox nearly in the same state; his spirits are good, and he has still great hopes of recovery. He said this morning, 'I hope my recovery is not so desperate as peace.' The news from Paris is every day less favourable, so much that hints have been thrown out to Ld. Yarmouth about the restitution of Pondicheri and Surinam, and the other Dutch colonies in S. America, about the expulsion of the French Princes from England, and a restraint upon the licence of the journals. Ministers are much more discontented with Ld. Y. L. has been told in the most explicit manner by the Cabinet, that if he finds anything in Ld. Y.'s conduct to disapprove of, he has only to give a hint, and he shall be recalled.

Bonaparte is elated beyond his usual tone of insolence since he procured the Russian Treaty; he sent for the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, and ordered him to signify to his master that he must lay aside the title of Emperor of Germany, and yield the precedence to France, and that he must assent to and recommend the alterations in the constitution of the Empire, which were proposed to be held at Frankfort on the 10th August. The Chargé d'Affaires pleaded that he durst not convey such a message to his Sovereign. '*Pourquoi votre maître ne m'envoye-t'-il pas un ambassadeur, et pas un misérable parlementaire ?*'

29*th*.—Professor Dugald Stewart, who has just arrived from Edinburgh, is to go with L. to Paris. Gaeta is taken, and Sr. Sidney has met with some check in the kingdom of Naples.[1] L. had a conversation alone with

[1] The town of Gaeta was besieged by the French under Masséna, and capitulated before the Neapolitan and English forces, fresh from

Mr. F., in which he opened himself freely. He said he wished to retire from office till he got better, and to have Ld. H., whom he had always destined ultimately to succeed him, appointed to fill his place *pro tempore*, adding that he had been thinking of this for some time, but that he had put it off in the hope of being able to sign the peace before he retired. He bid L. 'open the matter to Ld. Grenville,' and added that he 'would talk further on the subject to Ld. Grenville in 8 or 10 days.' In a conversation which L. had with Ld. Grenville some time ago, during which they talked of Mr. Fox's situation and of the small prospect of any amendment in his health, Ld. Grenville said, 'That he hoped his own conduct had been such as to satisfy Mr. Fox's friends since the period of their being connected together, and if that disastrous calamity should happen, and most disastrous indeed would it be for the country, he trusted, they would have no reason to be dissatisfied with any future arrangements that might take place.'

Sheridan, who dined here to-day, begged to talk to me privately. He said that it was the wish of many of Fox's friends, whenever the state of his health should make it impossible for him to attend to the duties of his office, that Ld. H. should be appointed his successor; that such an appointment would be regarded by them as a pledge that the Whig Party was still to be kept up, and its principles maintained; that the Prince was very eager to have them carried into effect; that he had spoken to Windham, who seemed to listen with satisfaction. That he, 'from delicacy, spoke to me instead of to Ld. H., and begged I would communicate the substance of them

their victory at Maida, were able to intervene. By this capture, Masséna's army of 18,000 was freed to make common cause with Regnier against the Calabrians, and as all hope of success in that quarter was thereby removed, Sir John Stuart withdrew his troops to Sicily.

to him.' He told me that George Byng and the second-rate sort of politicians were very eager upon the subject.

Cline, the surgeon, has seen Mr. Fox, and declares himself ready to perform the operation whenever the physicians shall judge it expedient, as he does not see any reason to think the result more formidable to Mr. F. than to any other person.

Ld. Howick is full of plans for an Administration, in the event of Mr. Fox's retirement, or worse. He takes for granted that neither the General or Ld. Fitzwilliam would choose to remain in office if F. were away. He would, in that case, make Whitbread Secretary at War, himself S. for the Home Department, Tom Grenville the Admiralty, Tierney the Board of Control, Ld. H., of course, the Foreign Office; and, said I, 'Pray where do you put Lauderdale, ye first, greatest, and best lord?'

31*st.*—Lauderdale had an interview with Ld. Grenville, and repeated the substance of his late conversation with Mr. F.; Ld. G. listened with great attention, but made no reply. Just as L. went out, he called him back to beg that he would say to Ld. H. that, 'He had many times abstained from going to Stable Yard, from an apprehension that if Mr. Fox should know he was there, he might suppose he was come upon business and make an effort to see him, which might do him harm; but that if he followed the dictates of his own inclination, he should be there every day.' Tierney and Ld. Morpeth have both expressed to me very strongly their wishes and the necessity that Ld. H. should be the *locum tenens* for his uncle.

1*st August.*—Ld. Rosslyn has written a letter on the subject of his Mission to Portugal, from which it appears he is not inclined to undertake the services assigned to him. When Admiral Markham read it, he observed upon it that, 'Ld. St. Vincent, when he sees this, will say the

fellow has got dung at his heart.' Not a very elegant or delicate mode of expression!

It is said that Spain is disposed to a war with France, in consequence of their having discovered that a plan of partitioning Spain is in agitation, by which Estremadura and Galicia are to be annexed to Portugal, and made into a kingdom for the Prince of the Peace,[1] while the rest of Spain is to be given to one of B.'s brothers.

Mr. Goddard (Ld. Henry Spencer's friend) arrived this evening from Paris with passports for Lauderdale. When the passport was required, Bonaparte exclaimed, 'What! another passport! Have they not a blank one already? But this is of a piece with the whole of their conduct during the negotiation; delay, delay is their object.' 'But will you grant them the passport?' 'Yes, and for twenty more if they choose.'

2nd.—Lauderdale set off for Paris this evening, with Professor Stewart, and Mr. Maddison from the Post Office. Ld. H. gave him a letter to Serra and Prince Masserano.[2]

Mr. Fox better; Vaughan said this morning that there was a greater assemblage of favourable symptoms than there had been any day since he attended.

Sheridan came here in the evening, and talked over his schemes. He enlarged greatly upon the state in which the House of Commons would be left if Mr. Fox were removed from it; deplored the unpopularity of Ld. Howick, and seemed to insinuate that Petty had been tried and found unfit for the task.[3] He has some project, all founded upon his enmity to Ld. Howick and hereditary

[1] Manuel de Godoy (1767–1851), Prime Minister of Spain. He obtained this title from having concluded the peace with France in 1795.

[2] Spanish Ambassador in Paris.

[3] Lord Howick was First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Henry Petty Chancellor of the Exchequer.

suspicion of Ld. Henry, to try and rouse Ld. H.'s old partaility for Canning, and get him and Perceval into the Administration.

3rd.—Mr. Fox not quite so well.

4th.—Mr. Fox in high spirits, and talks confidently of meeting Parlt. in October; approves of an early session in time of war. He has not the slightest expectation of peace, and expects Lauderdale's immediate return.

5th.—When Bonaparte was told that L. was coming, he said, 'Comment! on m'envoye un ancien Jacobin.' D'Oubril had been shut up for 14 hours with General Clarke, before he signed the Preliminaries. It is a dexterous way of carrying a point, to weary out a man's physical strength, to tame him like a wild beast, to carry your purpose. The pretext was to carry the business through rapidly.

Ali Pacha[1] of Janina has sent a letter which he received from Bonaparte, all written in his own hand, inviting him to form a connection with France. Ali observed he had never received such a mark of respect and confidence from the English. Bonaparte is steady and indefatigable in all his undertakings.

6th.—Ld. Grenville has proposed to Ld. H. that he should be one of the Commissioners for settling the points in dispute between this country and the U. States of America.[2] Ld. Auckland, as President of the Board

[1] Ali Pacha, vizier of Janina (1744–1822), son of an Albanian chief. He made his name by cruelty and brigandage, and was appointed Governor of Trikala by the Turks for his assistance against Russia. He allied himself to Napoleon in 1797, and again in 1807, but went over to the English after the treaty of Tilsit. He made himself practically independent of the Turks, who decided to rid themselves of him, and having taken him prisoner, treacherously put him to death.

[2] Two important points were at issue between England and the United States, and popular excitement had risen to such a pitch in the latter country that a non-importation order had been issued against British goods, to take effect on November 15. The first ground of complaint was the right claimed by England of searching and taking

of Trade, is to be the other Commissioner. The Americans are Messrs. Monroe[1] and Pinckney.[2] Ld. Howick and others consider this as a delicate opening on the part of Ld. G. to show his readiness to comply with the intimation he had recently had from Mr. F. through Lauderdale.

The operation is to be to-morrow.

7th.—The operation was performed this morn.; Cline and Hawkins did it. Sixteen quarts of amber-coloured water was drawn off; he bore the operation perfectly well, his pulse very little affected, and no disposition to faintness.

8th.—Not so well from nausea and lowness.

Ld. H. has accepted the appointment of Commissioner. Mr. Eden is the Secretary (by a shabby artifice of his father's), Mr. Allen the Assistant-Secretary.

It has been proposed to Tierney to go to Lisbon in the capacity in which Ld. Rosslyn was to have gone. T.'s intimacy with Ld. St. Vincent made him be thought of for the service. Ld. St. V. is to follow with a squadron

deserters out of American ships; the second, the practice of seizing ships engaged in the carrying trade between France and her colonies, although they had touched at a neutral port.

[1] James Monroe (1758–1831) who took a leading part in the war of Secession and sat in the United States Senate from 1790 to 1794. He was then sent as Ambassador to Paris, but was recalled two years later. He was again sent there in 1802, and was employed for some years in London and Madrid. He returned to America after the refusal of Jefferson to ratify this treaty. He was appointed Secretary of State in 1811, and was elected President in 1816, a post which he retained until he retired from public life in 1825. He was the author of the message to Congress in 1823, embodying the principles known as the 'Monroe doctrine.'

[2] William Pinkney (1764–1822), an Englishman by birth, who gained distinction in the legal profession. He was first sent to London in 1796 by Washington and added diplomacy to his other employments. Going back to America in 1804 he returned to England two years later, and remained as Minister till 1811. He was Attorney-General of the United States for three years, and was Minister to Russia for a short time.

for carrying off, if necessary, the Portuguese fleet to the Azores, and for transporting the Prince Regent and his friends to Brazil. T. is disinclined, and has refused.

9*th*.—Ld. Grenville sent for Ld. Rosslyn late last night and renewed his former proposal of sending him to Lisbon. Ld. R. has accepted, and is to set off to-night. The Commissioners are Lds. Rosslyn, St. V., and General Simcoe ;[1] and, to my great satisfaction, Mr. Brougham.

10*th*.—Mr. Fox continues very low ; a great flow from ye wound, the *anasarca* diminishes fast.

12*th*.—No messenger from Paris. It is suspected that some artifice is used to delay the messengers, in order to prolong the negotiation, it being a matter of importance to France to keep up the appearance of a negotiation with England till the changes she meditates in Germany are completed.

14*th*.—Messengers in. Immediately on L.'s arrival he presented to the F. Governt. a short recapitulation of what had already passed during the negotiation, recalling to their recollection that the principle on which the E. Governt. had consented to treat was the *uti possidetis*, and reminding them how much this had been forgotten and departed from in their late demands, and concluding with the alternative, either to resume the *uti possidetis* as the principle of the Treaty, or to send him passports to return to England.[2] Three days elapsed before any answer was given to this note. General Clarke proposed that the business should be carried on by conversations, and not by written notes, which was refused. He also cavilled at some expressions in L.'s note, but at length presented a note couched in rather a high tone,

[1] The latter was taken ill on the journey, returned immediately to England, and died a few days after his arrival.

[2] The correspondence relating to these negotiations is given in the *Annual Register* for 1806.

complaining that when the Treaty was far advanced, and that Ld. Yarmouth was on the point of signing, L. should have been sent over to make inadmissible pretensions and to disappoint the hopes which all Europe had conceived of peace. The *uti possidetis* could not be the basis of the Treaty, unless the Emperor were to be replaced in the possession of Fiume, Treviso, and of all the conquests which he had renounced by the Peace of Presburg. Upon this L. sent for his passports. Three days were employed in sending from one office to another to obtain them, without success. *M. de Lima* (the Portuguese) called upon him, and implored in the most earnest manner that he would not break off the negotiation, as this would leave Portugal and Spain exposed to certain and immediate destruction. No effect being produced by this manœuvre, and L. persisting in his demand of passports, a 2nd note was sent, expressed in much more civil and moderate language, and tho' *denying* that the *uti possidetis* had ever been admitted as the basis of the Treaty, and declaring that without great modifications it was inadmissible, but concluding with these words, 'Mais l'Empereur l'adopte puisqu'il le trouve.' It is remarkable that in this note the word *adopte* was substituted in the Emperor's own handwriting, in place of *accepte* or *admet*. And in the date, the 11th had been inserted instead of the 7th, which had been the original date, so that the note had been detained some days, in hopes of Lauderdale's yielding. On receiving this, L. addressed a note to the French Governt., in which, without taking any notice of the contents of theirs, he declared he could not go on with the negotiation, unless he had an explicit assurance from them that he should have passports at any time within half an hour, for himself or couriers, whenever he should chance to demand them. This note produced a very civil answer from Talleyrand,

ascribing to accident entirely the blame of the former delay, and assuring him that it was in no respect owing to any want of civility to him. Lauderdale returned a second note, in answer to the former one, that he could not negotiate further, unless the *uti possidetis*[1] was distinctly admitted to be the basis of the Treaty, and that every deviation from it should be considered as an exception from the general basis of the peace. Things were in this state when Basilico was sent away.

Ministers, especially Ld. Grenville, are extremely pleased with L.'s conduct, particularly in his note on the subject of passports, after he received the second note from General Clarke. A Council was held immediately, in which it was determined to recall Ld. Yarmouth, and Basilico was sent back in the evening with an order to that effect. The reason for this measure :—1st, d'Oubril's account and Ld. Yarmouth's of the conclusion of the Russian Treaty are in flat contradiction. D'Oubril has written to Stroganoff that he signed the article with Ld. Yarmouth's knowledge and approbation. 2ndly, Ld. Yarmouth seems to have spent some weeks at Talleyrand's country house last autumn, tho' he gave Ministry to understand that he was hardly acquainted with him. 3rdly, Ly. Yarmouth is very much connected with Monteron,[2] an agent of Talleyrand's, and employed in his office.

Favourable accounts of the disposition of the new Russian Governt. towards this country ; Stroganoff has received letters to that effect from the new Prime

[1] ' His tenacity about the *uti possidetis*, and his frequent recurrence to that phrase, led Napoleon to reproach him with an adherence to "des formules Latines," which to those well acquainted with the nature of Lauderdale's acquirements in classical phraseology was diverting enough ' (*Memoirs of the Whig Party*).

[2] Comte de Montrond. See *ante*, ii. 159.

Minister, *Budberg*,[1] in which he expresses very strongly Alexander's high opinion as well as his confidence in Mr. Fox. Stroganoff thinks Russia will *not* ratify d'Oubril's preliminaries.

Ld. Granville Leveson arrived this day from Petersburg, dined here, and is looking handsomer than ever. I have not seen him these four years.[2]

American Commissioners very amicable; disposed to settle the differences, and to conclude a Treaty of Commerce between the two countries.

20*th*.—Ld. Howick dissatisfied with Sr. J. Borlase Warren, who lost three days after he got orders to sail, and wasted three more at Madeira, instead of going straight to ye W. Indies, by which Jerome may escape.[3] Alderman Prinsep did not know how to open the Stock Exchange.

Alas! Mr. Fox begins to fill again; they talk of another operation in three weeks.

Lauderdale is abused at Paris, and represented as

[1] Baron André Jakovlevitch Budberg (1750–1812).

[2] Ambassador to Russia, 1804–06, and again in 1807.

[3] Jerome Bonaparte's ship, the *Veteran*, was one of Admiral Villaumez's fleet, now France's sole hope on the high seas. Originally detailed for the Cape of Good Hope, Villaumez had crossed over to the West Indies on hearing of the capture of the African settlement by the English. He was unable to elude the vigilance of Sir Thomas Cochrane, and three squadrons under the command respectively of Sir John Borlase Warren, Sir Richard Strachan, and Admiral Louis were despatched to confront him. Villaumez seeing that his fleet could not hope to escape *en masse*, gave the order for his ships to separate. Only one, however, was successful in regaining France safely, and Jerome was only able to save his crew and guns by running his ship ashore on the coast of France. Sir John Warren's fleet was despatched with exemplary haste, but lost several days at Spithead owing to contrary winds. To this delay Mr. Allen, in the *Annual Register* for 1806, attributes the escape of Villaumez's squadron.

Sir John Borlase Warren (1753–1822), son of John Borlase Warren, of Stapleford, Nottinghamshire. He entered the Navy in 1771, and saw much service. He became Rear Admiral in 1799, and was sent to Russia in 1802 to compliment Alexander on his accession.

having deserted Fox. Goldsmid is supposed to be Ld. Yarmouth's agent in the Stock Exchange, and to have transacted business for him to a great amount. Narbonne was admonished not to visit L. so frequently, Fouché sent for him to that purpose. Emperor gone to hunt, his Ministers rejoice at his absence whilst in so violent a mood; they call him *bête féroce*.

Second operation performed on Sunday. Bore the operation extremely well; less water taken from him than on the former occasion, but he was more completely emptied. Some pints of water which had remained in ye abdomen were drawn off; fell soon after into a state of languor and depression, but the physicians flattered themselves he had gained strength in the interval between the operations, and that he would soon be able to bear the course of medicines which they judged necessary for his recovery, and in this hope they remained until Monday, the 7th September. Water had, in this interval, flowed repeatedly from the wound in the abdomen, and the quantity of urine discharged had augmented. They said there was a greater assemblage of favourable symptoms than had appeared since they had been called in.

Sunday, ye 6th September, Vaughan thought that he felt some hardness in the region of the liver, which made him speak much more doubtingly to Ld. H. about Mr. Fox's recovery than he had done the day before. On Monday as he was led about the rooms at Chiswick[1] to look at the pictures, a *gush* of water burst from the wound, which had been closed for some hours; he fell into a state of alarming weakness, and continued so the whole of that and the succeeding day. A catch in his breathing. We were sent for, and reached Chiswick by two, and found him in this deplorable state. He was low,

[1] Mr. Fox had been lent Chiswick House by the Duke of Devonshire, and was moved there at the end of July.

and never spoke willingly, but every now and then got up in consequence of some irritation in his bowels. He swallowed nothing but brandy, usquebaugh, and other strong cordials; his senses and understanding never left him, tho' he spoke very little till Wednesday, when he reminded Ld. H. of a promise made to him in Stable Yard, of telling him when he was in danger. It was a painful duty, but he fulfilled it, and told him what the physicians thought. He thanked him with his usual tenderness.

On Wednesday, about 4, he began to revive, and during the night, whilst Ld. H. was sitting up with him, carried on a conversation in French, that his servant, who was present, might not understand it, as it regarded Mrs. Fox, &c. He had a few hours rest, and continued to get better. In the course of the morning he was wheeled into an adjoining room, and put on his spectacles to look at a caricature which Ld. L. had sent from Paris. I went into the room, kissed his hand, and he spoke kindly to me. During this amendment, he told Ld. H. he had never been in such danger as the physicians had apprehended. He had said on Tuesday night to Vaughan, ' I have had a sad struggle for it, do you think it will do ? '

On Friday morning he became languid without any apparent cause, and continued afterwards to sink without any interruption. His senses were good, but he used the wrong word to express his meaning, and seemed hurt that he could not find the right one. On Saturday death was fast approaching; his pulse became every moment feebler, but still regular, his breathing was deep, his strength gradually failing. Mrs. Fox sat upon the bed, holding his hand; he looked upon her with that sweet smile so expressive of all the benevolence and goodness of his heart. He articulated distinctly, ' I die happy ';

his last words were, 'Bless you, I pity you.' He died without a struggle or groan at ¼ before 6 o'clock, on Saturday, the 13th September, 1806.

The scene of unaffected grief was awful; every room contained a friend who shed unfeigned bitter tears. Ld. Fitzwilliam was so overcome that, for some time, it was feared he would follow the fate of his beloved friend. Ld. Holland and General Fitzpatrick immediately went to Mrs. Fox. A sad scene ensued. She wished the whole family should remain as long as the body continued at Chiswick; accordingly ourselves and the General continued until — September. His body was examined by Mr. Cline. Ld. Howick was at Chiswick, and sent off a messenger to Windsor. The first account of Mr. Fox's danger was communicated to Ld. Grenville by Petty, on Monday night, the 8th Sept., and he was very much affected on receiving the intelligence, which was quite unexpected. When informed of his death by Ld. Howick, he inquired what was proposed for his funeral, and when told that Ld. Holland had given orders that he should be buried in the family vault at Foxley,[1] he expressed his disappointment, and asked Ld. Howick what he thought fit. Finding they were of the same opinion, he offered to recommend to the King that a public funeral should be ordered. However, the private and political friends thought it more consistent with the simplicity and dignity of his character that he should be attended to the grave by his friends, public and private, without the interference of Governt., and an application signed by many of the friends was addressed to Lord H., begging that he might be interred in W. Abbey, and attended by his friends.[2]

[1] Near Malmesbury, in Wilts.

[2] The funeral was fixed for October 10, by a curious coincidence the anniversary of his first election for Westminster.

The answer of the King to Ld. Howick's notification of Mr. Fox's death was in the coldest possible style, and did not express even sorrow for the event. When Ld. Grenville told him that he had given the Seals to Ld. Spencer, he approved of it, and added that there was no hurry about disposing of them, and recommended Ld. Grenville to take his time (considered as an intimation to take in the Pitts). He received Ld. Howick very coldly, and made the inquiries about Mrs. Fox from ye other Ministers.

A communication from Ld. Grenville through Ld. Howick to General Fitzpatrick to take Ld. H. into the Cabinet. Ld. Howick acknowledged Ld. Holland was the fittest to succeed in the Foreign Department, but that he could not undertake to lead in the H. of Commons if he remained at the Admiralty, the fatigue being too great. T. Grenville grumbled at the Admiralty, as the public looked to Ld. Spencer if a change were necessary, besides disliking the duties of the office.[1] Ld. Grenville wanted Tom to lead the H. of Commons ; and there was a proposal of his being made Secretary for ye Home Department, and Windham kicked upstairs by a peerage, in order that he might, when Ld. Howick goes to the Lords, be considered as the head—impracticable from T. Grenville's coldness of character, and, I think, want of the right stuff in his head.

The strongest reason which the Grenvilles have for proposing the Whigs to the Opposition in forming a new Administration, is that they can depend upon them in case of a quarrel with the King, which they could not on

[1] The new appointments were, Lord Howick, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs ; Mr. T. Grenville, Admiralty, in place of Lord Howick ; Mr. Tierney, President of Board of Control, in succession to Mr. Grenville ; Lord Sidmouth, President of the Council, in place of Lord Fitzwilliam ; and Lord Holland, Lord Privy Seal, in place of Lord Sidmouth.

such men as Hawkesbury and Castlereagh. They are out of humour with Windham. On ye 19th September they proposed the peerage, and hoped he might bite at it, to escape from the Norfolk election, which will be strongly contested. Peace perhaps might be easier with Whigs, but tho' Ld. Grenville is strenuous for peace, there seems to be very little hopes of attaining it at present.

Prussia has offered to go to war with France, and, with the concurrence of Russia, to guarantee Hanover to the King of England. Ld. Howick is very warlike. Whitbread has been absurdly extravagant in his views and demands ; talks of the Cabinet !

Ld. Holland has agreed to accept the Privy Seal, with a full understanding, however, with Ld. Howick, that his views are directed to the Foreign Office, and that he only accepts this insignificant charge to serve the party, and satisfy that part of his uncle's party who might suspect the Grenvilles, were he overlooked.[1] All this was subject to the approbation of the Prince of Wales and his uncle's friends. He stipulated that in case of peace, he might resign in favour of Lauderdale, and go, if he chose, to Paris. Ld. Grenville agreed to his changing Privy Seal for Paris, and that Lauderdale might come in ; not otherwise, as retiring from office would be injurious to the Governt.

An affectionate letter to Ld. H. from the Prince, expressing his wish that Ld. H. might be successor to his uncle in the Seals.

20th.—A letter of Murat to the King of Prussia, addressing him by the style of ' Mon Frère,' is said to have been the origin of these movements of the Prussians

[1] Lord Holland states fully his reasons for accepting office in a letter to Lord Lauderdale, dated September 22. It is published in *Memoirs of the Whig Party*, ii. 53.

against France.[1] Another is that Lucchesini has discovered, and communicated to his Court, Bonaparte's scheme of annexing the Prussian States in Westphalia to Murat's dominions. Some think Lucchesini is capable of having made this communication on the suggestion of Bonaparte, who would be glad of a pretext to reduce the Prussian power. The Prussians and Saxons are 240,000 ready to take the field. The French 220,000 to oppose them. Prince Louis,[2] son of Prince Ferdinand of Prussia, is the person who has the most hostility against France, and who is eager for military renown. Austria is determined to remain neutral.

Windham peremptorily refused the peerage. When he talked to Petty of the proposal, he mentioned it as being whimsical, that, as the great distress was the want of talent in the H. of Commons, they should therefore move their best speaker into the House of Lords.[3] Ld. Howick is *now* desirous of retaining the Admiralty ; he is satisfied of the impolicy of giving up such a mine of patronage, and has, in idea, been long enough in possession of the Foreign Office to be weary of it, but unluckily

[1] Early in March Murat was given the Duchy of Berg and Cleves, ceded to Napoleon by Bavaria, and other territories claimed by Prussia were occupied by French troops a month later—this without any communication to the Prussian Cabinet.

These and other arbitrary actions, following closely on the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, opened the eyes of the Prussians to the true policy of the French Emperor, but the final blow to their *amour propre* was the discovery of their Ambassador in France, Lucchesini, that Napoleon had cheated them over Hanover, by his willingness to restore it to England, and that he threw no obstacles in the way of the immediate re-establishment of the Kingdom of Poland.

[2] Prince Louis Ferdinand, nephew of Frederick the Great, was born in 1772. He served with distinction against Napoleon and was killed at Saalfeld in 1806 in command of the advance guard.

[3] 'They want ordnance, and yet would begin by spiking one of their great guns.' Lord Holland relates this as another remark of Windham's upon the proposal.

it is too late. The Foxites have not *one* office which has patronage annexed to it.

The plan is finally fixed :—Mr. Grenville, Admiralty ; Ld. Howick, F. Department ; Ld. H., Privy Seal ; Ld. Sidmouth, P. of the Council ; Ld. Fitzwm., Seat in Cabinet, without office ; Tierney, Board of Control. Ld. Howick had a thousand *freaks*, for they were too wild to be called plans, the burthen of which was that if he could not do things his own way, he would go out. He assured Ld. Holland through the General, and to *himself* also, that he considered himself merely as *locum tenens* during the period of his being in the H. of Commons, and that his being in the office ought not to be considered as an obstacle to Ld. H.'s views, he knowing also what Mr. Fox's intentions had been upon that subject. In short, as far as professions and assurances can go, we must feel satisfied that he will make the offer when he is removed to the H. of Lords. The General says, ' I have no doubt he is sincere now, but when the impression of Fox's loss wears away, perhaps his intentions may change.'

22nd.—Messenger from Lauderdale. He has had a severe bilious attack, caused, D. Stewart thinks, a good deal by the sad tidings from England. Talleyrand full of overstrained civility. England, he said, had a right to dictate her own terms, she being in a most commanding station. France has only to be careful not to concede too much. They want to have back Surinam and Demerara. L. has demanded Cuba in exchange. Capture of Buenos Ayres produced little sensation at Paris.[1] Emperor

[1] Sir Home Popham's expedition to South America, where he effected the capture of Buenos Ayres on June 28. He had been originally despatched to the Cape of Good Hope, where he met with complete success and annexed that colony to the British Empire. Fired with this triumph he made his way to the Rio Plate, without any instructions from Government, who on hearing of his destination

left Paris. Ld. Morpeth is to go to Berlin immediately.[1]

25*th.*—In consequence of Ld. M.'s declining to go on acct. of the shortness of notice, Ld. Henry Petty having expressed some desire to go, Ld. Howick gladly caught at it, and it was mentioned to the King. Upon Ld. Holland hearing of it, he did his utmost, both in conversation and by letter, to dissuade Petty, who was so much shook by Ld. H.'s arguments that he was as eager to seek a pretext to avoid going as he had been before to get one to go, and he availed himself of some difficulties about putting the Seals into commission. Ld. Carlisle wished Morpeth to go, and accordingly he has agreed, and very kindly is to take B. Frere[2] with him, whom he will leave, in case he comes away, as Chargé d'Affaires, which will be getting B. F. employment, and perhaps a grade hereafter.

Lds. Grenville and Howick wrote to the Prince after Mr. Fox's death. His answer to Lord Howick was that he wished for no change but that Ld. Holland should have his uncle's Seals. But, being in the meantime informed of the arrangements agreed upon, he wrote to Ld. G. that his political interest was buried in the grave with

took steps to stop him, but their orders arrived too late. Buenos Ayres remained in his hands until August 4, when it was retaken by the Spaniards, with severe loss to the British.

[1] Lord Morpeth was sent to Berlin to offer the assistance of England conditionally upon the immediate restoration of Hanover. He arrived at headquarters two days before the battle of Jena, and found Haugwitz, with whom he was to negotiate, unwilling to meet him in any way. The intriguing Prussian still hoped to retain Hanover, and expected after the battle to be able to say so. The result, however, was contrary to his expectations, and as no diplomatic negotiations were possible in the confusion after the battle Lord Morpeth returned to London.

[2] Bartholomew Frere (1778–1851), a younger brother of John Hockham Frere, and son of John Frere, M.P. for Norwich. He was Secretary of Legation to his brother in Spain and held various minor diplomatic posts.

Mr. Fox, but that, as it was probable he might at some future time be again forced to public matters, he thought it proper to say that he was ready to give his support to the present Administration, on acct. of the friends he had in it, and that he should always look to ye friends of Mr. Fox, and particularly to Ld. H., as his own political friends.

The Duke of Bedford in writing, and the D. of Norfolk in conversation, have also expressed to Ld. H. that they look upon him as his uncle's representative in the Whig Party. Ld. H. stipulated, as it was his uncle's wish, that the first blue ribbon was to be given to the D. of Norfolk. Agreed to.

Ld. Holland strenuously against sending any person to Prussia, but to allow whatever business there may be to be transacted by the Minister, Jacobi,[1] who is at Hambro' [*sic*] on the part of Prussia, and by Mr. Thornton on our part, our Minister at Hambro'.

On the 10th October, the funeral of Mr. Fox. He was accompanied to the grave by his old friends, public and private, and by the Ministers. I was present in a gallery erected for me in the Abbey over the grave.

12*th December*, 1806.[2]—The fragment of the Prussian

[1] M. Jacobi, the Prussian Minister, had left England when diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken off in the spring. He passed Lord Morpeth on the sea, and reached England early in October.

[2] In the interval which elapsed since Lady Holland's last entry in her journal the whole position of Europe had again changed. The Prussian army, decimated in one day at Jena and Auerstadt, had practically ceased to exist ; Frederick William was a fugitive at the eastern end of his dominions in Königsberg. Napoleon had occupied Berlin, and in two months had become master of many of the Prussian fortresses, which it should have taken him years to reduce. Lucchesini in the course of his negotiations for peace in Berlin was even ready to give up those strongholds which had not surrendered, but the patriotic party were too strong to allow the King to consent to further ignominy. Russia was prepared to give her assistance, and this nerved Frederick

army may amount altogether to about 50,000 men. Old Kalkreuth, who made his escape after the Battle of Auerstadt, is in Dantzic with 12,000. The King is not at Petersburg, but whenever he is, his councils are directed by Haugwitz more than ever, which makes him perfectly nugatory.

The Russian Proclamation, which declares the necessity of Wallachia and Moldavia being occupied by their troops,[1] has excited alarm and distrust in the Austrian Cabinet. Those Courts are wrangling about punctilios, just as if Bonaparte were not alive. The Austrians want to coalesce with Russia, but they are afraid and undecided; however, Pozzo di Borgo, who is in the Russian Military Service, is despatched to Vienna to see whether he can bring about any co-operation. Little can be expected even if he does, Bonaparte has so completely secured his rear and kept a communication with France by means of menacing and cajoling, that all attempts against him are idle.

The King of Sweden, tho' very wrong-headed, and ill-gifted with that rare commodity common sense, has some notion of honour and high sense of it. Bernadotte, either at Altona or Hamburg, made some overtures to the Swedish Minister, saying that Bonaparte had always considered the King of Sweden as the only high-spirited Monarch; talked of the old alliance between France and Sweden, and threw out hints of Bonaparte's willingness to give him Norway. The only notice the K. of Sweden bestowed upon this was a severe reproof and recall of his Minister for listening to any proposals from the French, and giving instructions to have the whole proceeding

William to continue the war. Haugwitz resigned, but the King rendered this lucky event ineffective by also dismissing Count Stein, the only really able man in his councils.

[1] War was formally declared between Russia and the Porte towards the end of December.

laid before the Danish Government, in order to show them the perfidy of the French, who were soliciting their friendship.[1] Our Government intend to augment his subsidy, and hold out a prospect hereafter of giving him ships to assist in the conquest of an island, Martinique or Guadalupe. The Danes are terrified, and will yield Holstein if the French should be peremptory; not, it is to be hoped, with impunity on our part.

The Opposition are full of jokes against Tierney; they say the dissolution was entirely his scheme, that by its suddenness they might be taken by surprise and unprepared, but that it appeared that he himself was the least prepared, and the most surprised. He lost the Borough.[2]

An abundance of speculators have gone with English goods to Buenos Ayres, enough to make a glut in the market, and merchants have sent over, it is said, to buy English goods, as they will be quite a drug there. Auchmuty[3] is gone with considerable reinforcements thither.

[1] Gustavus IV. succeeded, at the age of fourteen, to the crown of Sweden after his father's assassination in 1792. His hatred of Napoleon and inclination towards an English alliance were the leading features of his reign—features to which he so obstinately adhered as to cause his country much unrest and suffering, and his own downfall. He was deposed in 1809 in favour of his uncle.

[2] The dissolution took place in October, and the new Parliament met on December 15. Tierney was defeated at Southwark by Sir Thomas Turton. He obtained a seat, however, at Athlone.

[3] Sir Samuel Auchmuty (1756–1822), born in New York, of Scotch descent. He served the crown in America as a volunteer, obtaining a commission. He went to India, where he saw much service. He took Monte Video, and showed considerable skill on this expedition until superseded by General Whitelocke, who arrived with further reinforcements. He later returned to India, and was also employed in the East Indian islands.

Sir Home Popham, who was court-martialled in March, and reprimanded for his share in the unauthorised expedition to Buenos Ayres, remained with his fleet off the Rio Plate after the loss of the town. The Government were much disconcerted by the whole affair, but the

General Craufurd's[1] expedition is to land at Val Paraiso in the South Sea; it was delayed so long that the passage by Cape Horn would be impracticable, therefore they must go round the Cape, a voyage of eight months. This expedition was delayed on account of the negotiation. Peace was once expected, but even then it was a mistaken policy, in my humble opinion, as Bonaparte is an enemy who will respect you more, if you will not only show your teeth but bite with them too.

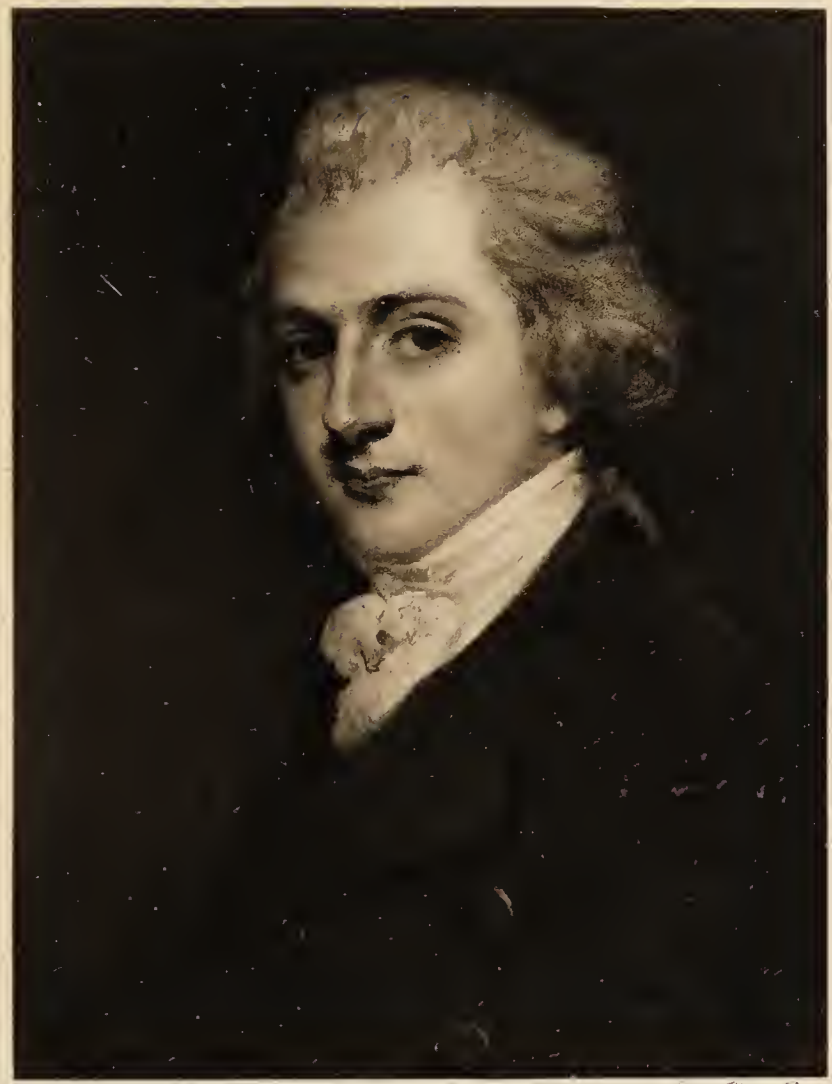
The Government of the United States has detected the conspiracy which has long been gathering to break off the Northern from the Southern States, and so to make the Allegany Mountains the boundary. Mr. Burr,[2] who killed General Hamilton, is the head of it, and orders have been given to arrest him. General Wilkinson with the army is in the South and declared for Burr.

Burr laid the whole plot open to our Minister, and

enthusiasm of the public forced them to send reinforcements instead of orders of recall. Three thousand men were despatched with Sir Samuel.

[1] General Robert Craufurd (1764–1812). He served under Lord Cornwallis in India, and was Quartermaster-General in Ireland during the insurrection of 1798. His force was joined to General Whitelocke's. He commanded a light brigade in the Peninsula and was killed at the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo. This expedition was intended for the conquest of Chili, but was diverted to Buenos Ayres.

[2] Aaron Burr's (1756–1836) conspiracy was a sequel to his defeat for the Presidency of the United States by Jefferson in 1801. This was mainly brought about by General Hamilton's influence, which was again brought to bear against him in 1804 when he stood for the Governorship of New York. A duel took place in which General Hamilton was shot dead. Burr after this went to the West and established himself on the Mississippi. He gained over General Wilkinson, the commander of the United States army at New Orleans, to assist him in his schemes, though nobody appeared to know their exact trend. Jefferson, however, grew alarmed, Wilkinson recanted, Burr was arrested, and the whole plot fell to the ground. Burr was acquitted of actual treason, and went to Europe. There he remained, first in one country, then in another, till 1812, when he returned to America. He took no further active part in politics, and died in extreme poverty.



J. Hoppner Pinxit 1798 — Emery Walker Sh. sc

John, Viscount Boringdon
(afterwards Earl of Morley)

asked the assistance of England; Merry transmitted the communication to Ld. Mulgrave,[1] who, as usual, returned no answer.

Ld. Grenville calls the American a *Mob Government*, and one too weak to carry its own measures into effect.

The Scotch Peers elections have gone well; Ld. Melville was cruelly disappointed, he expected to carry four, and only carried Ld. Aberdeen. Kinnaird behaved imprudently and foolishly; however, Ld. Lauderdale's dexterity and activity carried him through. Till the very moment before the election, Lord Melville reckoned upon carrying *four*.

Deliberations in the Cabinet upon an attack on Mexico; Ld. Grenville sent to Ld. H. Sr. Arthur Wellesley's plan.[2] Sir Arthur Wellesley appears to have obtained all his information with respect to the accessible points for attacking S. America, New Spain, from a Mr. Frazier.

18*th December*.—Lauderdale entertains no doubt whatever that the note so very offensive in its language to him was written, and also that it was written by the Emperor himself; and, moreover, that the Ministers, to avoid a severe reprimand from him for having ventured to suppress it, have thus impudently ventured to publish it officially. The other speculation is that the order for the publication of the correspondence was sent from Berlin, and the clerks published *all, brouillons* included. This is the most probable.

The melancholy year of 1806 died with another loss: the D. of Richmond[3] died at Goodwood of suppressed

[1] Lord Mulgrave was Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1805–6.

[2] Preparations for this expedition ceased with the fall of the Ministry. Their successors again took the project into consideration, but the troops destined to take part in it under Sir Arthur Wellesley were sent instead to Portugal.

[3] Charles, third Duke of Richmond; born in 1735, died on December 29, 1806. He was succeeded by his nephew, Colonel Lennox.

gout and a liver complaint, discovered only after death.

News of the recapture of Buenos Ayres believed by the Government. It rests upon the declaration of a Portuguese Captain, who reached Lisbon in 43 days from Pernambuco; he says a Spanish schooner came in there dismasted, who was the bearer of dispatches to Old Spain, giving an account of the retaking of the town after a severe contest. It must be highly gratifying to Ld. Howick that he should have made his manly exposition of Sr. Home Popham's improper conduct before this news, when the shabby people will be as ready to cry against the business, as they have been ready to praise it. An instance of the money-getting spirit of Sr. Home came to my knowledge lately. He wrote to the merchants at Manchester advising the exportation of certain goods, but to his own agent he bid him send him, upon speculation, a large quantity of silk stockings, with a hint that this order should not transpire. B. Frere assured me he was acquainted with the silk-stocking merchant who supplied the articles.

The business of the Princess,[1] which is now before the

[1] The charges of immorality raised against the Princess of Wales by Sir John and Lady Douglas were laid before a Committee of the Cabinet in 1806 for investigation. It was composed of four members, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice (Lord Ellenborough), and Lords Grenville and Spencer, with Sir Samuel Romilly, the Solicitor-General, as legal adviser. Their report acquitted her of the more serious charges, but animadverted with severity on the levity of her conduct. The Princess replied with a letter to the King 'the joint composition of Lord Eldon, Mr. Perceval, and Mr. Plomer; the first furnishing the law, the second the argument, and the third the prolixity. It concluded with a request to be restored to the comfort and honour of his Majesty's royal presence' (*Memoirs of the Whig Party*, ii. 151). This the King referred to the Cabinet, and after many deliberations, with the exception of Mr. Windham, they concurred in the report.

It is curious that Lord Eldon, who it is here suggested was the secret adviser of George III., was also the confidential adviser of George IV. at the time of the trial in 1820.

Cabinet, is highly perplexing, and from the answer given by the K. to the Minute of the Cabinet, there is good reason to suspect he has some secret advisers. The style is much too business-like, and shows too much knowledge of law to be his own. This suspicion is confirmed by the line of conduct taken in the H. of Lds.; it is quite distinct from Canning's in the H. of Commons, as they did not move the Address. Ld. Eldon had for many years the management of the D. of Portland's estates; in consequence of which, he had frequent access to him, and thereby acquired considerable influence over his mind. The King has appointed the D. of Portland his Master of his own private Monies. Thus upon pretence of his private affairs, the K. has a channel of communication with Ld. Eldon, which Ministers can in no way get at or interfere with.

There are avowed schisms amongst the Opposition; Canning is distinct from Perceval, and from Castlereagh. If the *great man* of all does meddle in the H. of Lds., those in the Commons are not entrusted with the secret of his benign influence.

A curious petition under the Treating Act against Messrs. Windham and Coke, curious because it is not brought by the rejected candidate, who, on the contrary, declares he is not privy to the petition. It is the result of female spleen and revenge, a retaliation upon Mr. Windham for an election trick played by his party against these incensed heroines, Mesdames Atkins and Berney.[1]

[1] This incident is fully described in *Coke of Norfolk*, ii. 69–73. Mrs. Berney and her friend were in the habit of parading the town every day in a carriage decked in Colonel Wodehouse's (the Tory candidate) colours. One day, however, the Whigs produced a carriage arranged to closely resemble theirs in every particular, but flaunting the rival hue. A riot ensued, for which the Berney family held Coke and Windham responsible, though they had in no way countenanced the trick. All three candidates were convicted of treating, but as no petition was brought against Colonel Wodehouse, he retained the

They had induced some electors to come forward and petition under the Treating Act; the three candidates unwisely consented to treat, not suspecting mischief could ensue from any other quarter. Mrs. Atkins was a celebrated actress, formerly of the name of Walpole. Her coadjutor is as great a virago as herself. '*La vengeance est douce à l'esprit d'une femme.*' Windham had a double return, so will sit for some rotten borough. Serjeant Lens, who is his counsel, rather despairs of making out a defensible case.

The expedition of General Craufurd, which was *not* to take Teneriffe on its way to the S. Sea because it would take too much time, is now loitering and beating off the Cape de Verd Islands for want of convoy, which convoy has not at this moment quitted England.

January 4th, 1807.—The American Treaty is at length signed; it must go to the U. States for ratification before it can be made public. The only point gained is the settling the ill-humour, and fixing the continuous voyage;[1] the seamen question is still unsettled.

6th January.—Last night upon the subject of the negotiation, Whitbread took the most hostile line against Government, arguments mingled with invective against their conduct from the beginning to the end of the negotiation. He *applauded* Ld. Yarmouth's proceedings,

seat. Mr. Coke's brother, Edward Coke, resigned his seat for Derby, for which the former was elected; while the latter took the vacant seat at Norwich. Mr. Windham was returned for Higham Ferrers by Lord Fitzwilliam.

[1] 'A clear and precise rule was laid down for the regulation of the circuitous trade by the enemy to the colonies, which defined the difference between a continuous and intercepted voyage' (Alison, *History of Europe*, v. 677). The discussion of the question of impressment of seamen was postponed till some future occasion, owing to the difficulties which surrounded it. The British Government pledged themselves in the meantime to use their powers with the utmost moderation. President Jefferson, however, refused to ratify the treaty.

censured the recalling him, as well as the motives assigned for it, and found fault with everything done by Lauderdale ; concluding the whole in the most personal manner to Grey, by moving the *same* amendment that Grey himself had moved on the Address to the King when Ld. Whitworth's papers were under consideration.[1] Ld. Yarmouth, conceiving himself to be the injured party, spoke with warmth against Ministers ; Perceval, with bitterness and scurrility against Fox. This strange conduct of Whitbread's will be productive of great mischief, and unfortunately Ld. Holland, from an apprehension of being overcome if he risked mentioning his uncle's name in public, did not speak on the night of the debate in ye House of Lords. His silence and Whitbread's garrulity will corroborate the French story of the Fox party being discontented with Lauderdale's conduct. This, however, can and will be justified immediately by his speaking, with or without an opportunity.

During the debate L. sat next to the Prince, who seemed mightily to relish Ld. Yarmouth's occasional raps at the Grenvilles, and shortly after opened very freely upon his dissatisfaction ; told him to sound H. upon the subject of the Pss., in which he spoke as if he suspected he was *given up*, and to ascertain whether, if so, he, Ld. H., was prepared to go out upon it ; deeply deplored the loss of Fox, who was a *man*, fair, open, and attached. L. collected, which combined with other circumstances that had come to his knowledge, that Ld. Moira is playing a deep game, by trying to draw a line in the Cabinet of Prince's friends and Grenville's. He has never recovered the double disappointment, first, of not being made First Lord of the Treasury and Patron of Scotland, and, secondly, of not being acknowledged the

[1] At the rupture of the Treaty of Amiens.

successor of Fox in the Whig party. That is to say, the Prince styles himself the head of the Whig party, in imitation of his uncle, the D. of Cumberland, who was so in 1764, forgetting how foolish that was, but how much more foolish it is in an Heir Apparent! However, with this idea thrust upon him by Ld. Moira, he is the more likely to concur with Moira's views, who would content himself with being styled his assistant upon such an assumption.

Ld. Holland dined at the India House where Ld. Minto had been sworn in;[1] Ld. M.'s spirit excessively depressed. If annoyed at going, why seek the appointment by such means?

7th January, 1807.—A universal groan, a spontaneous, unanimous feeling of disgust in the H. of Commons, when Perceval attacked the character of Fox. The tune of it was that all the kingdoms of Europe had sunk by treachery, bribery of their principal persons; that Talleyrand, the base, corrupt Prime Minister of France, had been the agent; yet this *immaculate* character was the *attached* friend of Mr. ——.[2] The House shuddered, and interrupted the pronouncing of the name. He animadverted upon the correspondence carried on between them. Whitbread's speech made a considerable impression upon some of the most valuable men in the House, but was not conclusively reasoned; he having

[1] Lord Minto had been appointed Governor-General of India. He at first refused to accept office, and only did so at the earnest desire of Lord Grenville. That he was loath to do so is shown by letters, published in vol. iii. of his *Life and Letters*, to Lady Minto, who on the score of health was precluded from accompanying him. Fox first offered the appointment to Lord Lauderdale, but the Court of Directors refused to receive him. He therefore consented to waive his claim to the dignity.

[2] In answer to Lord Howick Mr. Perceval explained that the word 'attached' was taken from a letter of Mr. Fox to Talleyrand published in the Correspondence, in which he had 'subscribed himself "with the most perfect attachment"' (*Hansard*).

completely overlooked the necessity of keeping faithful to our allies, the Russians. Some think that the greatest mischief done by his speech was the drawing out some very warlike sentiments from Grey, who answered both injudiciously and inconsistently (with former declarations) with regard to the duration and principle of the war, which he stated with all the exaggerated declamation of a pupil of the Pitt school. This is a most unfortunate error, and is the more to be regretted, as the case upon ye papers was so strong, and might have been defended upon the true principles of Mr. Fox's pacific policy.

Roscoe [1] spoke yesterday for his maiden speech on the Thetford Petition: Windham says his manner is dull, coarse, and provincial. I do not think his talents are such as will enable him to *add* to his reputation by his public speaking.

February 8th.—Serjeant Lens called to give me an acct. of the state of Norfolk Committee. Windham is in great agitation, even beyond what such a circumstance ought to excite. *His* imprudence has been quite incredible; however, nothing decisive has yet appeared against him. There were two of his indiscreet letters afloat; one has been rescued, but the other is still in the hands of the enemy—the one of the most mischievous purport unluckily. Each letter was a threatening to dismiss the persons, to whom they were addressed, from their employments, if they did not vote, and in the one in the field Ld. Grenville's name is used.

Prince came and stayed a considerable time. He is looking less ill than he did a month ago. Ld. H. advised him to do nothing about the Pss., telling him in as civil terms as he could that his unpopularity in the country

[1] William Roscoe (1753–1831), the author of the *Lives* of *Lorenzo de' Medici* and *Leo X.* He was elected in the Whig interest as member for Liverpool in 1806, but was defeated at the succeeding election.

was so great, that any publication of proceedings on his part would only confirm the belief in a conspiracy against her. He also advised him to conciliate the Duke of Gloucester,[1] whose ambitious views of alliance with the young Princess were apparent, and tho' not necessary to encourage, were worthy at least of observation, as he might secure his friendship by civility. He expressed great abhorrence of him, said he was a fool and a Saint : said it had often occurred to him that his brother, the Duke of Cambridge,[2] would be a proper husband for his daughter, that such connections were common amongst Catholics, and that Parliament could grant a dispensation as fully as the Pope. He has promised to take no steps without consulting his legal advisers.

Ld. Minto came to take leave, he was to set off for India in half an hour. Prince seized and dragged him into the little room, said, ' H. you may come too,' and then asked Ld. Minto to give him the statement which was drawn up by him and Burke on the King's recovery in 1789, in which they had entered fully into the Queen's conduct during H.M. illness.[3] Ld. Minto was extremely disturbed, and hardly knew how to reply. He stammered and said it was of no use, such a paper now would be of no service, except *historically*. However the P.

[1] William Frederick, second Duke of Gloucester (1776–1834), son of William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, and Maria, Countess of Waldegrave. He married, in 1816, Princess Mary, George III.'s daughter.

[2] Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge (1774–1850), seventh son of George III.

[3] This is probably the paper printed in *Memorials and Correspondence of C. J. Fox*, ii. 340, &c. It was to be delivered to the King in 1789, with the memorial, also drawn up by Minto and Burke, containing a justification of the Prince's and Duke of York's conduct during their father's illness. Both documents were discussed at a meeting of the Whig leaders held at Carlton House, and it was decided not to present the memorial with this paper, but to accompany it only with a short explanatory letter.

pressed him so hard, that he was compelled to acknowledge that it was in Ly. Minto's possession.

Prince had been at Windsor the night before. King's blindness worse : great flightiness upon two topics, upon the name of Sir Sidney Smith being mentioned, and upon the Irish bishops, whom he said were all Catholics and should never preach before him. P. seems to have been greatly struck at the Pss. observation, about four months after their marriage, on Soulavie's *Memoirs of Catherine*, whom she said was a great princess, and served for an example '*à toutes princesses*.' He seriously believes that it has passed in her mind to adopt Catherine as a model, and as a proof he declares that she wore usually men's clothes, and received many navy officers in that attire at Plymouth.

A Cabinet on the 9th in consequence of letters from ye Duke of Bedford.[1] The Catholics are proceeding

[1] Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

When the Grenville Ministry first took office on Mr. Pitt's death no stipulation was made to the King regarding the Catholic question. The Irish Catholics, seeing Ministers in power most of whom they knew to be favourably inclined to their claims, began at once to agitate for the removal of disadvantages under which they laboured. The greatest anomaly was, that by the Act of 1793 Irish Catholics could become officers in the army there (though still unable to rise to certain staff appointments), but could not hold that rank in England. A promise, however, had been made at the time that matters would be speedily readjusted. This and other points were brought to Mr. Fox's notice soon after he had taken office, but he advised a postponement of the suggested petition to Parliament, as likely for the present to be of no permanent advantage. He stated, however, that he was quite willing to risk a dissolution of the Ministry on the question, if they so wished it. Better counsels prevailed ; but after Mr. Fox's death the matter again came to the front. Ministers were in a dilemma. On one side they risked the King's displeasure, on the other they would be obliged to proclaim certain parts of Ireland where agitation was breaking out, on a question with which they themselves sympathised. The former evil was considered the least, and it was decided by a clause in the Mutiny Act to allow Irish Catholics and Dissenters to serve in the English army. To this the King was agreeable ; but Ministers desired to go further. It was found easier to bring forward the matter in the form of a Bill, and one was drafted which opened the staff

with their petition, and some of the eager ones persist in laying it before Parliament this Session. Ministers are urged to determine speedily what is to be done for the Catholics, in order to prevent the petition, if possible, from coming forward. He thinks nothing will satisfy the C. at present short of three concessions :—

1. The insertion of the same clause in their favour in the Mutiny Bill of England, that was inserted some years before the Union in the Mutiny Bill of Ireland.

2ndly. Their admission to be Sheriffs of Counties.

3rdly. Their admission to Corporations.

The Cabinet determined upon granting the first, but object to the second, as a point that involves the whole Catholic Question and is objectionable on the same grounds with their total exemption, without being attended with the same advantages to themselves. The 3rd must depend upon individual Corporations. The Ministry have already declared, and are ready to repeat their wish, that the Catholics should be in full possession of every advantage secured to them by the existing laws. Such the Government of Ireland has shown to be the wish of the Ministry, and it is only by continuing the same system, that the object of procuring the admission of Catholics into the Corporation can be attained. The sketch of a letter to the D. of Bedford was then read, and agreed to be submitted to the King. Besides the topics already mentioned, it referred to an understanding that

appointments to the Catholics, and also allowed English Dissenters to serve in the army and navy. Lord Howick thought he had received the King's consent to this, but subsequently the latter flatly refused to confirm it. The Bill was dropped, but the Ministers reserved for themselves the right to bring forward the question again, should circumstances so demand. This the King requested them to withdraw ; they refused, and were at once dismissed.

The Correspondence and Minutes of the Cabinet, referred to here and subsequently, are printed in the Appendix to Lord Holland's *Memoirs of the Whig Party*.

prevailed in Ireland when the proposed clause of the Mutiny Bill was carried in the Irish Parliament by Lds. Clare and Hobart, that a similar clause would be inserted in the English Mutiny Bill. Very doubtful whether the K. would consent; also doubtful how far many of the members would continue to persevere in pressing it upon him. A proof of his indisposition towards Catholics:— in a private audience with Ld. Howick, he expressed surprise at the conduct of the Elector of Saxony, whom he had hitherto considered an honourable man, 'tho' nothing better can be expected of a Catholic, but a man must be greatly degraded to break an oath. I would sooner submit to be trampled upon and killed.'

Determined, if the others would not press the matter, that Lds. Howick, Henry Petty, and Holland should go out. Some think that the trifle required is sufficient to produce the relapse of insanity, and that it would be as well to have the *burst* upon the great point of all.

Feb. 10*th.*—Answer from the King. H.M. approves of what his Ministry have said on the subject of the application to have Catholic Sheriffs, but he, 'Trusts the Parlt. would never under any circumstances agree to the clause in the Mutiny Act. H.M.'s objections do not result from any slight motive. They have never varied, for they arise from principles by which he has been guided thro' life, and to which he is determined to adhere. He had hoped that the question would never again have been agitated.' (A copy from the original.)

In consequence of this answer from H.M. there was a meeting of the Cabinet this eve. in which it was determined unanimously to persevere. A respectful answer to H.M. was accordingly prepared, stating at full length the reasons which induced the Cabinet to persist in their

opinion and determined them to bring the question before Parlt. It is uncertain whether the K. will yield, dismiss them, or try to divide them. Ld. Sidmouth and Ld. Ellenboro' have behaved well, and even stoutly. Erskine betrays great backwardness, tho' he must go with the rest. Whilst the letter for the K. was read, he affected to be asleep, but Ld. Holland roused him and called his attention to this *important* paper.

The King very cordial and civil to the Ministers at the Levée. In his audience with Ld. Sidmouth he listened to the arguments for the measure, and even dropped a sort of acquiescence. Erskine held a most foolish, and even mischievous conversation with him. He told the K. that had he been in the Irish Parlt., the measures for the Catholics should not have passed without opposition : on which the K. complimented him, and said, 'I believe indeed, my Lord Chancellor, that you are a good Protestant.' 'That, Sir, is my proudest title.' The King is certainly tractable, but told Ld. Sidmouth that he should take 24 hours to consider of his answer to the Minute of the Cabinet. Ld. Grenville accompanied the Cabinet Minute with a private letter of his own, which pleased the K. mightily.

Feb. 12*th.*—King's answer (exactly copied) :—'The King has maturely considered what is stated in Ld. Grenville's letter of the 10th inst., and the accompanying Minute of the Cabinet. He is disposed upon this, as upon all occasions, to do full justice to the motives which influence any advice which may be submitted to him by Ld. Grenville and his other confidential servants ; and however painful His Majesty has found it to reconcile to his feelings the removal of objections to any proposal which may have even the most distant reference to a question which has already been subject of such frequent and distressing reflections, he will not, under the cir-

cumstances in which it is so earnestly pressed, and adverting particularly to what took place in 1791, prevent his Ministers from submitting for the consideration of his Parlt. the propriety of inserting the proposed clause in the Mutiny Bill. Whilst, however, the King so far reluctantly concedes, he considers it necessary to declare that he cannot go one step further, and he trusts that this proof of his forbearance will secure him from being at a future period distressed by any further proposal connected with the question. (Signed) G. R.'

Lds. H., Howick, and Hy. Petty had resolved upon going out, if the Cabinet had not brought forward the clause in question, or if they had afterwards given it up and without doing anything for the Catholics opposed their petition in Parlt. But Ld. Howick declared (as however he frequently does when in a passion) that he would retire from public life.

A Cabinet last night upon the subject of Buenos Ayres and S. America ; there is much difference of opinion on these questions. Ld. Howick and Mr. Grenville are averse to the diversion of any part of our force to such distant objects, and think every part should be employed in Europe. Ld. Grenville looks to conquest in S. America as useful to our trade in war, and as objects of barter in making peace. He is therefore against the adoption of any system which would prevent us from reducing our conquests at the time of peace. Ld. H. objects to any attack upon S. America, except for the purpose of revolutionising, but is very desirous some such system should be adopted. Windham is eager for the attack anyhow ; tho' he would prefer a systematic plan, yet he will support any measure of that tendency. It was at length agreed that two general officers should be sent out to take command of the difft. bodies of troops re-united before Buenos Ayres, which make an effective force of

9000 men. General Whitelocke[1] is one, with discretionary powers to fortify or defend Maldonado, to take or destroy Monte Video, and to take Buenos Ayres or enter into terms with the inhabitants, as they shall judge best for the King's service; but to send back to Spain all persons who took an active part against the English in the late transactions. The desire of effacing our recent disgraces there had its effect in determining this measure.

19*th Feb.*—Went to Brighton to see my children, who are living there for the sake of the good air, or rather to avoid the thick, bad air of London and its neighbourhood. Mr. Allen only went with us. We stayed Friday and Saturday; returned to town on Sunday.

The Norfolk Committee unseated Coke and Windham; Serjeant Lens made an admirable speech.

Petty wrote to me that the Princess had determined to publish, and that on my return I should find the 'fire burning and cauldron bubbling' with all the inflammable ingredients I knew of already.

Dined on Monday with Ld. Granville Leveson to meet Lady Stafford,[2] whom I had not seen for many years except in a crowd. Seized at night with a violent head-

[1] Lieut.-General Whitelocke (1757–1833). He distinguished himself in St. Domingo in 1793–4, but failed signally before Buenos Ayres. In his attack on the town he showed himself incompetent to deal with an unexpectedly determined resistance, and agreed to a convention whereby the English troops were obliged to withdraw. On his return to England he was tried by court martial and cashiered. Lord Holland states in the *Memoirs of the Whig Party* that this appointment was due to Windham's dislike of General Whitelocke (who held the post of Inspector-General) and his desire to appoint someone as his successor who would be more willing to carry out his schemes.

[2] Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland in her own right, Lord Granville Leveson-Gower's sister-in-law, only daughter of William, eighteenth Earl of Sutherland. She was born in 1765, and married, in 1785, George Granville, Earl Gower, who succeeded his father as second Marquess of Stafford in 1803, and was raised to a Dukedom in 1833. The Duchess died in 1839.

ache and cold, and some indications of fever. Confined from that night until this day, the 2nd March, and not yet recovered.

2nd March.—The abolition of Slave Trade was carried in the H. of C. by an immense majority, nearly 18 to 1; the opposition only 16. Mr. Windham came to town to attend, but was prevented by a hoarseness; wrote to Ld. Howick to notify he should oppose it in the Committee. Ld. Castlereagh and Rose [1] absent. The Doctor's men intended to oppose some part in the Committee.

Catholics becoming more reasonable in Ireland, The Petition is to be sent to Mr. Grattan instead of Ld. Howick, and it is to be brought over by Lord Fingall [2] alone, and not by a Catholic Committee. This will be advantageous to Ministers, as Ld. F. is open to various modes of conciliation. Ld. Ponsonby's [3] private letters to Ld. Howick throw blame on the Irish Governt. He says, 'His uncle George, the Chancellor, is stark mad, and as rank an Orangeman as any in Ireland': that Elliot,[4] who knew of the Petition since July, has been greatly to blame, and has by his cold manner repulsed the Catholics: that Plunket,[5] the Attorney-General, is a secret enemy to the Administration: that the Solicitor-

[1] This was in accordance with the resolution which Mr. Rose says in his Diary he had taken never to say a word or give a vote on the subject. He disapproved not of the abolition of the Slave Trade itself, but of the methods pursued in putting it down, which he considered were unfair to the colonists.

[2] Arthur James, eighth Earl of Fingall (1759–1836), who succeeded his father in the titles in 1793. He was one of the leaders of the Catholic movement at this time.

[3] John, second Baron Ponsonby, of Imokilly (1770?–1855), son of William Brabazon Ponsonby, first Baron Ponsonby, who died in 1806. He was Ambassador in Constantinople and Vienna and was created a viscount in 1839. His only sister married Lord Howick.

[4] William Elliot, of Wells, the Chief Secretary. He died in 1818.

[5] William Conyngham Plunket (1764–1854), created Baron Plunket in 1827. He was appointed Attorney-General for Ireland in 1805 by Pitt, and retained this office under the Whig Government.

General[1] is not good for much, and Curran is so bad in his office, where he has almost nothing to do, that he ought to be removed. Secret abuses are every day discovered by the investigating accountants, but are kept very secret, especially the two following. Mr. Eden, since his succession to Ld. Thurlow's Tellership, it appears, has compelled his deputy, whose place is 1000*l.* pr. ann. and was always considered as one held for life, under a threat of dismissal, to give him 400*l.* pr. ann. for his brother. The deed was Ld. Auckland's, so the poor fellow is sconced of his 400*l.* pr. ann., a scandalous transaction, and one that the honest will suffer by, as Ld. Howick swears the American Commission shall not be paid as he originally designed, thus Mr. Allen will suffer for his colleague's dirtiness.[2] This proceeding will not be revealed, as Ld. Buckingham was guilty of a similar action in favour of Ld. Grenville's family.

T. S., one of Pitt's oldest friends, and a man of a *studiously* fair character, frank and honest to bluntness and a variety of other such descriptive features peculiar to English worth, coarseness, grossness, rudeness, and all leading to saying he was honest, turns out to be *franchement* a rogue; having, it appears, appropriated to his own private use balances of Governt. money to the amount of 9000*l.* He is now refunding principal and interest, imploring secrecy. It is not however determined whether he is to be prosecuted; but until it is decided, the business is kept secret and is not revealed even to the Cabinet. These sturdy, plain characters often prove to be the greatest thieves. These discoveries are owing, I believe, to the Commissioners of Public Accounts. Mr. Biddulph's Committee of the H. of

[1] Mr. Charles Kendal Bushe.

[2] See *ante*, ii. 174. Mr. Eden was Secretary to the American Commission and Mr. Allen Assistant-Secretary.

Commons [1] has struck a general alarm into sinecure placemen and peculators, as it is known to be composed of very active, ardently zealous reformers. Ld. Ellenboro', who has several lucrative offices of that sort in his gift, complains of its taking from the Chief Justice the only recompense for his services, which consist in having the means to provide for his children, the salary not being sufficiently great. The Commissioners have issued precepts for inquiry into the Colonial Establishments, a measure not very acceptable to Windham, and they are endeavouring to negotiate with the Bank to manage the National Debt on more reasonable terms, from which they expect to save from 60,000*l.* to 80,000*l.* pr. ann.

The affair of the Princess is drawing to a public disclosure of the whole proceedings. The Prince has been advised by Romilly and Garrow [2] to make application to the King that the charges against the Princess may be tried in a Court of Common Law ; and, on the other hand, the Princess has been advised by her law counsellors to publish her defence, which must lead, of course, to a publication of the charges and evidence against her. It is said that her defence is printing, and will be published on Wednesday.[3]

[1] A Committee was appointed on February 10, on the motion of Mr. Biddulph, member for Denbigh Borough, to examine the efficiency of regulations and checks, already introduced, to control public expenditure ; to consider what further steps were advisable for the same object, and to diminish 'the amount of salaries and emoluments without detriment to the public service.'

[2] William Garrow (1760–1840), barrister, who sat in several Parliaments in the Whig interest. He was knighted in 1812 ; made Attorney-General in 1813, and Baron of the Exchequer 1817–32.

[3] This was the pamphlet drawn up by Perceval, and known as 'the Book.' It was never given to the world, for just as the Princess's friends resolved upon its circulation, the Ministry was dismissed and the Tories returned to power. A few copies escaped from the printers' hands, and were bought back for large sums by the Government.

The Opposition are a disjointed, incoherent body, dissatisfied with their situation, and with one another. Canning has made private overtures to Ld. Grenville to be taken into office when an opportunity presents itself, declaring himself greatly discontented with his present associates. His demands are :—a high appointment for himself, a place for Sturges, and a peerage for Sr. Hy. Mildmay. Ld. G. seems not entirely disinclined to listen to such overtures. He is very much out of humour with Whitbread for his speech on the first day of the session, which, he scrupled not to say to Ld. Howick, betrayed sentiments and views utterly inconsistent with those on which Ministers had conducted the negotiation. But if Whitbread is set aside, and Ld. Grey die, Petty would be left almost alone in the House of Commons, and though his success there during the present session has been greater than the most sanguine of his friends could have hoped for, still he would require an able seconder, especially if Whitbread went eagerly into Opposition. These considerations may weigh with Ld. G., and he may also be desirous of having a speaker of the first rank in the House of Commons, more connected with *himself*, and less attached to the Whig party than Petty. Mr. Grenville is unwilling to be an every day speaker in the House of Commons. C. Williams has no voice ; Ld. Temple is not listened to ; but Canning, if brought into office now, would attach himself to Ld. Grenville as he did to Pitt, and become his peculiar organ in the H. of C. Ld. Wellesley has probably been the channel of communication. Whitbread and Ld. Howick are far from being cordial, and unfortunately the conduct of the former tends to widen every day the breach between them, and his pretensions are so high, that independent of the obstacles which he is himself creating, it would be difficult for Ministry to satisfy him :

nothing will content him, but to be considered as on a par with Lauderdale for pretensions.

There is every reason to fear that we shall be forced into war with Turkey by the violence of Russia, though the Turks have made every possible concession.[1] It is feared that we have already taken possession of the Turkish fleet, and bombarded Constantinople. Arbuthnot has orders to give the Turks the alternative of dismissing Sebastiani, or having a war with England. Windham and T. Grenville have, between them, given orders without the knowledge of their colleagues, in the event of a war with Turkey, for 5000 men to be taken from the army of Sicily, and employed in taking and garrisoning Alexandria. Craufurd has been overtaken, and stopped from going to Valparaiso.

Monroe has had a conversation with Ld. H. about Spanish America; he wishes nothing to be attempted without a concert with the United States, the country to be declared independent, and free ports to be opened to both the invading powers. His accounts from Armstrong[2] represent that there are great differences among

[1] Owing to the infraction of treaty obligations in Moldavia and Wallachia by Turkey, largely instigated by Sebastiani the French Ambassador at Constantinople, Russia thought fit to declare war with the Porte late in 1806. Alexander, however, had need of all his forces to meet the French in Central Europe, and he suggested to the English Government that a fleet should be sent to Constantinople to secure their joint interests, and to demand the dismissal of Sebastiani. This was done, and Arbuthnot, the British Minister, was ordered to insist on the latter point, on the pain of instant bombardment. Unfortunately Arbuthnot had to leave owing to ill health, and Sir Thomas Duckworth, the British Admiral, allowed himself to be drawn into fruitless negotiations, and finally withdrew without accomplishing his object.

The force sent to Egypt under General Mackenzie captured Alexandria, but lost a large number of prisoners in an attack on Rosetta. Nothing further was effected, and the troops were removed in the autumn.

[2] John Armstrong (1758–1843), American Minister in France and Spain 1804–10.

the French generals, and that this alone has prevented Bonaparte's return to Paris where his presence was also required.

March 8th.—The Princess has not published her defence, but it is said she has got it printed at a private press belonging to Perceval, and she threatens to publish it next Friday, if not previously received at Court on Thursday. It is said that her coarseness of language disgusts even her partisans.

The overtures of Canning are taken into consideration, and have been the subject of conversation between Lds. Grenville, Howick, and Holland. There is an idea that Lauderdale, Whitbread, and Canning may be introduced into the Cabinet. Canning now requires Charles Long,[1] Huskisson, and old G. Rose[2] to have places. Some of these and Ld. Camden are only named *pro forma*, and would be sacrificed if he could be taken in. How room can be made does not very readily appear. When the Doctor was told of Canning's proposals, he said, that in the present stage of the business, he was not called upon to interfere, but that if it was proposed to bring Canning into office, his line was taken.[3] There is no reason whatever for any change at present, except the alleged necessity of dismissing Windham on account of his great mismanagement in his office and his conduct as War Secretary, and the reduction of strength in the

[1] The Right Hon. Charles Long (1761–1838), afterwards created Lord Farnborough (1820), Secretary of State for Ireland 1806, and Paymaster of the Forces for many years.

[2] George Rose (1744–1818), a devoted adherent of Pitt. He was for many years Secretary of the Treasury, and held various minor offices under the Tories.

[3] This is amusing and interesting, in light of Lord Malmesbury's conversation with Canning, which he quotes in his diary as having taken place on March 14. Canning 'said, what he had told me before, that he had received and rejected overtures from Lord Grenville. . . . He declared with a threat that he never would sit in the same Cabinet as Addington.'

H. of Commons, especially should Windham go with Opposition. But the real cause is said to be Lord Grenville's restlessness of disposition, which makes him dissatisfied at the end of six months with every arrangement he forms. Ld. H. is averse to these changes on the score of unfairness to Addington, who must be made the sacrifice, especially as they conducted themselves (*apparently*, a cautious saving always necessary, however, for the Doctor's conduct) well in the late discussions with the King, and because he is naturally averse to the return of so many of the Pittites to power ; and also that Canning's introduction to the Cabinet is the elevation of a rival to Petty. The latter opinion, however, is more my own, and has inspired me with great distrust to the proceedings. Petty, who at my earnest desire has been apprised of the affair, as the injunction was that it was not to transpire, is, of course, against it. Therefore if Ld. Howick (over whom Ld. Grenville has acquired great influence) is of the same mind, there will be little or no difficulty in counteracting it. Whitbread's impatience for office, and Ld. Howick's extreme desire to have no political difference with him, makes him lend a readier ear to such a plan than he would otherwise do.

There is an expedition to be undertaken, which on acct. of Erskine's extraordinary imprudence in talking, is to be kept a secret from the Cabinet, and only known to a few. Bad accounts from Drummond [1] of the Court of Sicily ; strong measures are to be resorted to without delay to bring them to a more reasonable line of conduct. All Frenchmen in the service of Sicily to be dismissed ; none but Sicilians to be employed in the service of the State ; nominations of all officers in the army to be

[1] Sir William Drummond, born about 1770 ; died in 1828. He was appointed Minister at the Court of Naples in 1801, and again in 1806, and Ambassador to the Porte in 1803.

left to the British Commander-in-Chief; grievances to be redressed by the convocation of the Sicilian Parlt. If these terms are not complied with, we are to declare we cannot defend the island, and if refused, force employed to effectuate them. General Fox, Sr. John Moore, and Drummond are to be associated in a joint Commission for this important object.[1] Sr. Sidney Smith, who has been gained over by the Queen and is completely subservient to her, is ordered on a different service. The fury and violence of the Queen's character have not abated by age, and her *other* passions have as little diminished. Ld. Ellenboro' said, in the discussion of this business, that our Sicilian Alliance seemed to him to cost £600,000 pr. ann., for no other purpose than to maintain a —— house at Palermo.

Overtures for negotiations between France and Russia. Our Governt. have expressed through Ld. Douglas[2] our readiness to become parties to a negotiation for peace, and have expressed our wish that if a Congress is to be held for that purpose, it should be appointed at Copenhagen; but it has been distinctly explained to Russia, that the French Colonies shall not be restored in return for the restitution of the conquests made from Prussia.

There are hopes that the Irish Catholics may be induced to postpone their Petition till another session. Ld. Ponsonby's letters are favourable to this expectation, and Mr. Butler has expressed the same hopes to Ld. Holland.

14*th March*.—Before it is decided whether Ministers are to go out, or accommodate their present differences with the K., I shall try and collect as well as I can, all

[1] No action was taken in these matters owing to the fall of the Ministry, and Canning allowed the question to lapse.

[2] Alexander Hamilton, Marquess of Douglas (1767–1852), British Ambassador at St. Petersburg. He succeeded his father as tenth Duke of Hamilton in 1819.

the important particulars which have led things to the present vexatious state. It was the intention of Ld. Grenville, not only to extend the provisions of the Irish Act of 1793 to the whole British Army, but also to open Staff appointments to the Catholics, but this dispatch to the King was expressed with some degree of ambiguity, so that it might be construed to mean that he intended only to extend the provisions of the Irish Act to this country. It was so understood by the King, Lds. Sidmouth, and Howick; and when transmitted to Ireland and read by Mr. Elliot to the Catholics, it appeared so ambiguous, that when they demanded an explanation of this point, Mr. E. wrote to Ld. Spencer for instructions how to answer them. This letter was sent to Lord Grenville, and answered by him without any consultation with his colleagues. In his answer he expressed surprise that Mr. Elliot should have had any difficulty upon the subject, and authorised him to inform the Catholics that it was the intention of Governt. to remove all disabilities whatever in the army attaching to members of their Church.

When Ld. Sidmouth understood the misconception under which he had laboured with regard to the meaning of the proposed clause, he appeared to be extremely distressed, and expressed himself very doubtful whether he should not enter into an explanation with the King, in order to explain his own conduct in the whole affair. But at length he determined that, if no communication was made on the subject by the Cabinet, he should take no notice whatever of it; as it was uncertain in what light the dispatch might have been viewed by the King, and whether he had understood by it that the new clauses were to be exactly the same as those of the Irish Act in 1793, or to apply also to the Staff appointments. It was judged proper by the Cabinet to say nothing of

this difficulty and contrariety of opinions to the King, but to send to him the proposed clauses, which it was found afterwards more convenient to be made into a separate Bill, and to leave him to object to them if they were different from what he was prepared for.

This having been done, and Ld. Howick having waited upon him on Wednesday, 4th March, he remarked that the clauses went further than the Irish Mutiny Bill, and when Ld. Howick explained to him how far they were to be carried, he started, and exclaimed, 'I'm sorry for it, I can't approve of it'; and in the course of their conversation on the subject, in which Ld. Howick urged all the arguments for the measure, he appeared not to be more reconciled, but as Ld. Howick understood, he still gave his consent that the Bill in its present form should be brought into Parlt. On coming out of the closet, Lord Howick communicated his conversation to Ld. Grenville and Ld. Sidmouth, the former of whom remarked, that since Lord Howick had had this conversation with the King, he should not speak on the subject to His Majesty, as he knew it to be so disagreeable to him. Ld. Sidmouth, it appears, did hold some conversation on the subject to the King, in which he repeated Ld. Howick's conversation in a sense which induced the K. to believe that the additional clauses would not be brought into Parliament till some further communications were held with him. Ld. Howick, having a different impression of his conversation, brought the proposed Bill into the House, which was read the first time, and ordered to be printed.

On Monday, the 9th, or Tuesday, the 10th, Ld. Grenville received a mysterious letter from Ld. Sidmouth regretting that he must differ from his colleagues on so important a point as the Catholic Bill, and requesting to have a conversation with him on the subject. From this con-

versation it appeared that he was determined to oppose the Bill in the House of Lords, and that his friends should take the same line in the H. of Commons. As it appeared from this and other circumstances that the King and his friends were resolved to oppose the Bill, it became a question what course it was proper for Ministers to pursue. It was proposed by some to bring the Bill through the Commons, so as to pledge that House on the subject, and if any placemen voted against it, to turn them out instantly, or propose doing so to the King; and if this measure should not be assented to by him, not to insist upon it immediately, nor yet quite give it up, but bring the Bill into the H. of Lords, and on its rejection in that House, to resign, and commence an active and vigorous Opposition. But to this course of proceeding it was objected by Ld. Grenville that it would lead to a protracted contest between the King and the Ministry, which, in the present state of affairs, could not but be prejudicial to the country; and the question was therefore proposed whether they should resign, or yield the question in dispute.

This was argued at his house on Wednesday, 11th, in the evening, at a meeting consisting of Ld. Grenville, Mr. Grenville, Lds. Howick, Holland, Henry Petty. Both the Grenvilles said they were ready to go out if their colleagues thought they could not retreat with honour, but they showed themselves very unwilling to that measure. Petty said the same, with the same reluctant offer. The great argument for not breaking with the King on this point was that this case would appear a bad one to the public, as it might be plausibly argued that they had deceived the King and committed his Governt. to more than he had authorised them to grant. Lds. Howick and Holland, who were the most averse to concession, were induced at length to give

up, seeing that their colleagues, though they offered to resign upon this point, did it reluctantly and with a grudge; and being also satisfied that the whole transaction with the King might be represented in the light that was argued by the others.

On Thursday, the 12th, Ld. Howick had an audience of the King, in which the K. behaved to him in the most civil manner, paid him compliments to himself and family, lamented that Ld. Howick had so far misunderstood him in their last conversation, as to imagine that he had his consent to propose the Bill to Parlt., but declared himself satisfied that this was a mere misapprehension on his own side, in consequence of his understanding the reverse to be Ld. Howick's idea of the conversation from Ld. Sidmouth soon after he parted from Ld. Howick. He assured Ld. Howick that he had spoken of the affair to no persons out of the Cabinet, except to persons of his own family; that he had taken no measures to form an Administration, and that if he must separate from his present advisers, he trusted that, as he had behaved and should behave honourably to them, they would not retire from his service till he had made arrangements to supply their place. He expressed himself in the most flattering manner to Ld. Howick personally, and remarked that he had not been aware till lately of his sentiments on the Catholic question. It seems, when Ld. Sidmouth told him the week before what were Ld. Howick's opinions on that subject, he started with evident surprise, from which it was argued some days ago that in the end he would yield. Ld. Howick endeavoured to extract from him what was the most he would concede in the present question to the Catholics, but found him resolved not to go beyond the Irish Act of 1793. When Ld. Howick mentioned the extending the same to the Navy, he started and ex-

pressed disapprobation. When Ld. Howick said, if the clauses were extended to the Catholics in England, they must also be extended to the Protestant Dissenters (who were not included in the Irish Act, because the Test Act was abolished in Ireland in 1774 or 1775), he started again, and exclaimed, 'But this is attacking the Establishment.' In a word, he consents to the extension of the Act of '93 to England, but to nothing more.

Rumours are afloat of the resignation of the Doctor, of the whole Ministry going out, of the Catholic Bill being abandoned, etc.; and Canning—the worthless Canning!—who was eight days ago actually in *terms* with Ld. Grenville, actually treating with Ld. Grenville and holding with him a private correspondence for the purpose of being taken into office, is now thick with Perceval, and ready, they say, to oppose any Bill brought forward to relieve the Catholics. The behaviour of the Doctor is still problematical. Ld. Grenville is greatly exasperated with him, but Ld. Holland, with more indulgence than justice, is disposed to view his conduct more favourably, and to believe that his misconception of the measure was real, and his sorrow unfeigned when he discovered what was intended to be done. But Ld. Sidmouth certainly misrepresented Ld. Howick's conversation with him to the King, and it is now said that he has been intriguing for the last ten days with Perceval. The D. of Cumberland was very busy in the H. of Lords communicating to his friends the joyful news of a change of Ministry.

The clauses were sent to Windsor on Tuesday, March 3rd, and returned by the King the same evening, without any animadversion or objection; on which they were instantly despatched by a messenger to Ireland. Very suspicious against the veracity of H.M.

15*th March*.—(On Friday, the 13th, Ld. Sidmouth

did offer to resign, but it was not accepted by Ld. Grenville.)

There was a Cabinet to-day at which neither Ld. Ellenboro' or Sidmouth assisted. It was then determined to withdraw the Bill which had given His Majesty so much uneasiness, but to reserve to the members of the Cabinet as individuals to express their opinion on the Catholic claims if brought before Parlt. by the Catholics, which measure, however, the members of the Cabinet pledged themselves not to encourage or recommend the Catholics to adopt.

The reasons for giving up the Bill were as follows :—

1st. The K. considered himself as pledged to no more than ye Irish Act of '93, and was determined to resist any further concession to the Catholics. But the mere extension of the Irish Act of 1793 would not tend in any degree to satisfy the C., nor to allay their discontent, while it would be unjust and unfair to the English Dissenters, whom it would place on a worse footing than the Irish Catholics.

2nd. But if the Bill, modified and reduced as it is by the King, would be useless and objectionable, the prosecution of the original Bill could not be persisted in, without incurring the reproach of having taken advantage of the King ; of having deceived him into acquiescence with a measure not properly explained to him ; and when the mistake was cleared up, of having made use of the opportunity to commit the House of Commons on a measure so decidedly contrary to his opinion. If the Bill was dropped on acct. of those last considerations, the Ministry must either resign, or go on with the disadvantage of having abandoned a measure of so much importance, and of having been baffled by the K. and a most contemptible colleague. In their voluntary resignation there were many objections. It would preclude them from employ-

ing their present strength in the H. of Commons in addressing the King against the change of his confidential advisers, because whatever might be the cause of their resignation, the act, if voluntary, necessarily compelled the King to look for other advisers ; and till those advisers were tried, it would appear factious to move addresses against them. Besides this reason for not resigning, the question of the C. was not popular in the kingdom, and a cry could be easily raised against it and its friends. It was therefore resolved to go on for the present, but as the King had now discovered his strength, and as little confidence or cordiality could longer exist between him and his present Ministers, it was determined to take the first popular ground of difference, and to resign upon it ; and to take off the impression of having been baffled by Ld. Sidmouth, it was determined that he should be instantly turned out. Besides these reasons for the line taken upon this occasion by the Cabinet, there were several who persistently indulged the hope that the King would not be satisfied with this concession, but that he would demand some further pledge on which they might make a stand on better ground than they occupied at present. The event proved their sagacity.

16*th March*.—On Monday, 16th, Ld. Grenville went down to Windsor with the Minute which had been agreed to on the day before in the Cabinet. The K. required 24 hours to consider of his answer, and on Tuesday morning he sent the following to Ld. Grenville :—

17th March, Windsor Castle.

'The King having fully considered what is submitted in the Minute of Cabinet which he received yesterday morning, desires Ld. G. will communicate to those who were present his sentiments and observations upon the contents of that Minute as hereafter explained.

'His Majesty has learned with satisfaction that they have determined not to press forward any further the discussion of the Bill depending in Parlt., and he is sensible of the deference shown to his sentiments and feelings, but he regrets that while they have felt bound as his Ministers to adopt this line of conduct, they should as individuals consider it necessary to submit to Parlt. opinions which are known to be so decidedly contrary to his principles, at a moment too when it is the declared object of his Governt. not to encourage any disposition on the part of the R. Catholics of Ireland to prefer a Petition to Parliament.

'From the latter part of the Minute the K. must conclude, that altho' the Bill which was depending is dropped, they have been unable to make up their minds not to press upon him in future measures connected with a question which has already proved so distressing to him, nor can H.M. conceal from them that this intimation on their part, unless withdrawn, will leave the matter in a state most embarrassing and unsatisfactory to him, and in his opinion not less to them. The K. therefore considers it due to himself and consistent with fair and upright conduct, which it has and ever will be his object to observe towards everyone, to declare at once most unequivocally that upon this subject his sentiments never can change, that he cannot ever agree to any concession which his confidential servants may in future propose to him; and that under these circumstances and after what has passed, his mind cannot be at ease unless he shall receive a positive assurance from them which shall effectually relieve him from all future apprehension.

'(Signed) GEORGE R.'

The preceding note was enclosed in the following :—

March 17th, 1807.

'The King has lost no time in dictating the answer to the Minute of Cabinet. Ld. Grenville will receive it enclosed, and H.M. desires he will communicate it to his colleagues, trusting at the same time that Ld. Grenville will see the propriety, with a view to the prevention of all future mistakes, that when they shall have duly considered the latter part of His Majesty's answer, their determination should be stated on paper.

'(Signed) GEORGE R.'

When these notes were received by Ld. Grenville the Ministry were in a very embarrassing situation, in consequence of having received the night before Ld. Spencer's resignation, which he sent to Ld. Grenville the instant he was informed that the Bill in Parlt. was to be abandoned, thinking himself particularly pledged to it, as being the person through whom it had been communicated to the Irish Governt. and to the Catholics that such a Bill was determined upon. The King's notes were therefore received with the greatest satisfaction, as it enabled the whole of the Ministry, Ld. Sidmouth and his friends excepted, to retire from office upon good and constitutional grounds, while their offer to abandon the Bill exempted them from any charge of having deceived or attempted to overreach the K. A respectful but firm answer was therefore sent, refusing to give the pledge for their future conduct which the King demanded.

18*th.*—The answer of the Cabinet was given to the King this morning. He is to take, as before, 24 hours to think of his reply.

He was to-day (Wednesday) very civil to Ld. Howick, hoped that if they did part, they should part with a more favourable impression of each other than they had

entertained before they met. Assured him that he had consulted with no one, not even with his own family, about forming a new Administration.

The Prince takes part with his father on this the present question, and he is full of complaints against Ministers for their conduct to him in his difference with the Princess. Lady Hertford has great influence with him at present, and she employs it. It is not many weeks since that he offered to write a letter to Ld. Howick for the purpose of its being shown to the Catholics, in which he would have pledged himself to the Catholics, provided they remained quiet at present. Ld. Holland did not encourage this measure, because as he had once broken his word to the Catholics, it was supposed that a promise from him would have little or no effect upon them. Ld. Moira is also extremely dissatisfied with the greater part of his colleagues; he told Ld. H. two nights ago that if this rupture had not taken place, he would have resigned shortly, and that when they went out he should resign his Staff appointments, and consider himself as no longer connected in party with his present colleagues. He complained that since Mr. Fox's illness no one, except Ld. Holland, had treated him confidentially.[1]

Ld. H. this morning, through Ld. Granville Leveson, proposed a Cabinet place *immediately* to Canning if they should remain in office, or return to it after a victory over the Court. Ld. G. Leveson received the overtures thus made rather coldly. He seemed to think that Canning would take the opposite side to Ld. Sidmouth, and in the evening he seemed disturbed by a speech of Bragge's,[2]

[1] He stated in a letter to Lord Holland, dated April 27, that he wished to attach himself completely to the Prince.

[2] Right Hon. Charles Bragge, who married Lord Sidmouth's sister, and took the additional surname of Bathurst in 1804. He sat in the House of Commons 1790–1823, and died in 1831.

who had said when asked what part Ld. Sidmouth's friends meant to take in the present differences, 'Why, stick by the King, to be sure.' It is not known that any person has as yet been sent for by the K. to consult with about a new Administration.

19*th*.—Letters from the D. of Bedford and Ld. Ponsonby. It seems that the Catholics had been induced by the exertions of Ld. Ponsonby and representations from the Castle, aided by the proof given by Ministers of their unabated zeal in their cause by the clauses in the Mutiny Bill, to abandon the intention of petitioning Parliament this session. But when these letters were written, rumours had arrived of the difficulties in carrying through the Mutiny Bill, and that Ministers were suspected of an intention to give way upon that point.

Early to-day Lds. Eldon and Hawkesbury went to Windsor in consequence of a message from the King communicated to them by ye D. of Cumberland. In the course of the morning they called upon ye D. of Portland, with the King's commands to form a new Administration and to consult on that subject with two of Mr. Pitt's friends. Reports of the D. of Portland declining to act on acct. of his infirmities; others again that he declined acting if Ld. Melville was to be one of the Ministers, or if it was resolved to dissolve Parlt. Ld. C. Spencer came from Burlington House and reported them as being greatly alarmed. Ld. Hardwicke[1] called in the evening at Ld. Grenville's, and having inquired into the truth of the pledge said to have been demanded by the King from his Ministers, Ld. G. showed him the King's note, on which Ld. Hardwicke expressed himself perfectly satisfied with the conduct of Ministers and

[1] Philip, third Earl of Hardwicke (1757–1834), son of the Right Hon. Charles Yorke. He succeeded his uncle in 1790, and was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland from 1801 to 1806.

thought they could not have acted otherwise with honour, and that those who had advised the King to demand such a pledge were impeachable. He concluded by assuring Ld. Grenville of his support and of that of his brother, Mr. Yorke.[1] Wilberforce also called on Ld. Grenville, and expressed much concern for what had happened, as well as approbation of the conduct of Ministers.

It is said that with a view to shake the power of Ministers in order to get rid of Windham, whom he detests, the D. of York had originally some share in awakening his father's scruples in the Catholic Bill. It is also said that he now heartily repents of what he has done, and would willingly assist to resettle matters. He justly fears a Ministry formed of the friends of the Pss. of Wales. Both he and the Prince, who has, but more strongly, the same fears, have offered to go down to Windsor to endeavour to accommodate matters. The D. of Cumberland has availed himself of the King's insanity upon the C. Question to effect this change. He read to him Perceval's speech agst. the Catholics as the sentiments of all good Protestants upon the subject, by which the K. was exceedingly agitated, as he always is when the subject is discussed.

When the King returned to Windsor on Wednesday,[2] he was exceedingly agitated, and after retiring for a short time alone, he desired that Col. Taylor might be sent for immediately, and upon his coming he dictated letters to Lds. Eldon and Hawkesbury. When Ld. Howick arrived on Thursday evening, the King told him that it was but fair to acknowledge that he parted with his

[1] Lord Hardwicke's half-brother, Charles Philip Yorke (1764–1834). He was Secretary at War, 1801–3; Home Secretary, 1803–4; and First Lord of the Admiralty, 1810–11.

[2] March 18.

present Ministers with regret, that he had hesitated long before he resolved upon it, that it was not till after re-perusing their communication and consulting with his family that he had determined upon it. That he had never had the slightest difference with them till now, and that it was only to get rid of a sword constantly suspended over his head that he now resolved to dismiss them from his service. All this was studiously told by the King's friends, and of course the sentiments are entitled to little or no credit.

20*th*.—The D. of Portland has consented to waive this objection founded on the bad state of his health, provided any arrangement can be devised which promises to last. They find great difficulties in forming their arrangements. Mr. Yorke has said to Chas. Long that he would take no part in their Administration, and that he disapproved of their intention of forming one. Tierney reckons 220 Members in the H. of Commons steady to the *late Ministers*, without including Ld. Wellesley's members, Ld. Carrington's, Mr. Eden, the Saints, or the Doctor's.

21*st*.—Ld. Hardwicke set off this morning to Windsor, and on his return went to Burlington House.

Lds. Grenville, Howick, and Holland had a very long conference. Ld. Grenville, averse to active measures; afraid 'lest the tail should get the better of the head.' Ld. Howick is to write to the King, urging the necessity of being prepared to explain the situation of Ministry in the H. of C., if called upon on Monday.

Letters from Ireland yesterday and to-day. It appears that if they had given up the Bill and remained in office, the D. of Bedford, Elliot, (and *probably*) the Chancellor Ponsonby, would have resigned; and Ld. Ponsonby, who has great influence over the Catholics, would have been incensed and gone into Opposition.

Charles Long told Ld. Lauderdale that he had called upon him twice three days ago, to have talked over the state of affairs, but it was now too late. Canning told Ld. Holland that he doubted whether Ld. H. regretted more this break up than *he* did!!! Ld. Spencer told the King on Wednesday last his determination to resign if the Bill was abandoned.

Windham, in a sudden fit of disgust, told Ld. Grenville that he desired he might no longer be considered as connected with *him*, as he meant to attach himself to Lds. Howick and Holland solely. This rash declaration was ill-timed, and nothing could be more ill-judged than to do this at a moment when unanimity is so requisite, and when all jealousies should be laid aside.

The event most to be feared at present is that the King should consent to withdraw the *pledge* he demands of them; and to accept their offer to give up the Bill with the general reservation which accompanied that offer. This would change the public ground on which they stand, and very probably disunite them.

22nd.—The Archbishop of Canterbury[1] is expressing everywhere the most rapturous joy at what has taken place. He says, 'It is the *neatest* done thing possible. Ministers have given up enough to forfeit the confidence of the Catholics, and will not therefore have the consolation of dying martyrs in the cause.' 'They have drawn their own teeth and cannot bite.'

Ld. Hardwicke dined yesterday with Ld. Grenville. His visit yesterday to Windsor was not in consequence of any message from the King, but originating from himself in order to express to His Majesty his opinion of the proposed alteration in his Govern^t. He arrived at

[1] Charles Manners-Sutton (1755–1828), raised to the See of Canterbury in 1805, and father of Viscount Canterbury (for many years Speaker of the House of Commons).

Windsor about the same time as Ld. Eldon, and as the K. was gone out, both had some time to wait before they had an audience. The K. answered Ld. Hardwicke's arguments by saying it was a matter of conscience, and in urging Ld. Hardwicke to take office he expressed great personal esteem for him, and added, 'I know the Yorkes are not given to cabals.' Ld. Westmoreland says this visit might have done some days ago, and served the Ministry, but that now it is too late. The report in town was that he was sent down by Ld. Grenville to accommodate matters.

Ld. Aberdeen says Ld. Melville is too infirm to accept offices; others that he expects to be high in the Administration. Ld. Auckland has written a very good letter to the King;[1] the worst, however, is that he did this upon a former change, and his resignation is not that of any office of emolument. His pension absorbs the salary of any place he holds.

23rd.—King's answer to Ld. Howick gives him permission to state to the House that he is employed in forming a new Administration. Dickenson, the member for Somersetshire, is to put a question to Ld. Howick this evening in order to lead to the explanation.

Dickenson did the business very ill, and so clumsily that he did no good by his query. His questions were whether Ministers were still in office, and whether the reports were true that they had attempted to surprise the King's conscience? Ld. Howick answered the 1st question, but declined making any reply to the 2nd. A great attendance in the House, but usual coldness manifested to a falling Ministry. Great diversity of opinion as to the mode of conducting the Opposition. Ld. Grenville, of course, hampered in consequence of

[1] Lord Auckland was President of the Board of Trade. His letter is printed in *Lord Auckland's Journal and Correspondence*, iv. 300.

the part he took in 1784. All resigned on March the 25th. The Prince acted shabbily; what he called neutral.

The loss of all interest in public affairs was the natural effect of the change of Administration to me. The Dissolution took place in May. The elections turned out full as favourable as had been expected. Bedfordshire was closely run between Fitzpatrick and Osborne, and carried by a moderate majority. Yorkshire very triumphant in favour of Ld. Milton;[1] Wilberforce accused and suspected of coalescing with Lascelles, lost him greatly his popularity, and his shabby desertion of the late Ministry.[2] A petition against Milton was ready, and upon the point of being presented, but he judiciously procured one also against Wilberforce, which, being held *in terrorem*, inclined Wilberforce to exert and pledge himself on behalf of Ministers, who came forward and promised to drop the petition against Ld. Milton, if he in return would stipulate that the one against Wilberforce should be dropped.

On ye 1st of May we went with all our family, excepting Mary,[3] to Southampton. We lived in the Margravine's house on the margin of the water. The weather was remarkably fine, the scenery agreeable, and the singularity of the arrangement of the houses and a terrace give it a foreign air, which transported me in imagination to happier localities.

[1] Charles William, Viscount Milton (1786–1857), only son of William, fourth Earl Fitzwilliam, on whose death in 1833 Lord Milton succeeded to the titles. He remained member for Yorkshire until 1831.

[2] The figures were: Wilberforce 11,806, Milton 11,177, Lascelles 10,989, the two first being therefore returned. Wilberforce's expenses, after many of his supporters had paid their own, amounted to 28,600*l.*, while those of his opponents were reckoned to be 200,000*l.* (*Dictionary of Nat. Biog.*).

[3] Mary Elizabeth, born in 1806. She married, in 1830, Thomas Atherton, third Baron Lilford, and died in 1891.

The Cowpers [1] made us a visit of a week ; the Kinnairds took a house near to us and spent a fortnight. Lauderdale, Marsh, B. Frere, and Mr. Horner made us a visit for a few days. We went over to Portsmouth to take leave of Bartholomew, who was going with Sr. Arthur Paget [2] to Constantinople. He brought with him Mr. Morier,[3] a sensible, agreeable young man, who went in the capacity of interpreter ; he is a nephew of Ly. Radstock's, his mother being a Smyrnese. Made several excursions to Broadlands, the New Forest, and Titchfield Castle, &c. The latter is remarkable for having been the birthplace of the celebrated Ly. Russell ; the last place in England where Charles I. took refuge. It is in a ruinous state, but even in its decay retains strong marks of its former splendour ; the stables are spacious and grand.

Returned home about 17th June, 1807. Parliament very briskly attended ; scandalous retaliation of each party upon the score of jobbing. Unfortunate Scotch business of Adam about Ld. Cullen.[4]

Ld. Granville Leveson set off upon his Embassy to

[1] Peter Leopold Louis Francis Nassau, fifth Earl Cowper (1778–1837), who succeeded his brother in 1799. He married, in 1805, Amelia, daughter of Peniston, first Viscount Melbourne. After Lord Cowper's death she married Lord Palmerston in 1839.

[2] The Hon. Sir Arthur Paget (1771–1840), second son of Henry, first Earl of Uxbridge. He held various diplomatic posts, and was appointed, in 1807, Ambassador to the Porte. He retired from the service two years later.

[3] David Richard Morier (1784–1877), son of Isaac Morier, Consul-General of the Levant Company at Constantinople. Commencing at the age of twenty, he held various diplomatic posts in the East, was secretary to Lord Castlereagh at Châtillon, &c., and was for many years Minister at Berne.

[4] Mr. Adam brought a motion in the House of Commons on July 2, 1807, in defence of the warrant for a pension to the Scotch Judge, Lord Cullen, of 400*l.* a year, with a reversion of 200*l.* for life to his wife. He argued that it was fair, if a judge was not sufficiently well off to keep up his position. Lord Cullen was devoting two-thirds of his income to pay his father's debts.

Petersburg. An expedition fitted out to the Baltic. Treaty of Tilsit arrived.

After the delay of a fortnight, in consequence of my having a smart bilious fever, we set off on the 22nd of August for our Scotch tour. Our party consisted of ourselves, Charles, Mr. Allen, Marsh, Mr. Knapp, Amelie, Aleck, Baptiste, Wm., Antonio. Being rather weak, the journeys were to be short. The first night we slept at Dunstable. On Sunday went through Northampton to Welford. The road remarkably good and handsome, raised upon a *chaussée*, like the public roads in France, Italy, or Spain.

On Monday passed through Leicester and Loughboro' to Nottingham, where we dined. It is a considerable town, well situated; the site of the ancient castle is very striking, tho' it is greatly destroyed by the modern mansion which the bad taste of a Duke of Newcastle allowed to be erected within the old walls.[1] The Trent is rather a large river; the bridge we crossed was handsome and well built. Ld. H. called upon the Mayor and Recorder; the Corporation are chiefly Dissenters, and strongly attached to the Opposition. They testified their respect for the memory of Mr. Fox by sending a deputation from the town of Nottingham to walk at his funeral. In the evening we were overtaken by a storm of thunder and lightning just upon the outskirts of Sherwood Forest; I was terrified, and sought shelter in the house of a family of the name of *Lowe*. We proceeded on to Mansfield, where we slept. On Tuesday we set off at eleven, went about two miles out of the direct road to see Hardwicke, the prison for many years of the unfortunate Mary. The house in which she was confined is falling into ruins;

[1] It was burnt in 1831 by the mob, on account of the opposition of its owner to the Reform Act.

the present house was built by the celebrated Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, after Mary had been withdrawn from her custody.

The road to Chesterfield is pretty. Sheffield was full as dirty and offensive as before. Slept at Penistone, a small village and bad inn quite out of the high road. Got out and looked at the Castle of Skipton, a valuable estate annexed to which belongs to Thanet. Got late in the evening to Lowood Inn, by the side of Windermere. I was not well in the night.

Wednesday.—Sent an invitation to Wordsworth, one of the Lake poets, to come and dine, or visit us in the evening. He came. He is much superior to his writings, and his conversation is even beyond his abilities. I should almost fear he is disposed to apply his talents more towards making himself a *vigorous conversationist* in the style of our friend Sharp,[1] than to improve his style of composition. He is preparing a manual to guide travellers in their tour amongst the Lakes. He holds some opinions on picturesque subjects with which I completely differ, especially as to the effects produced by *white* houses on the sides of the hills ; to my taste they produce a cheerful effect. He, on the contrary, would brown, or even black-work them; he maintained his opinion with a considerable degree of ingenuity. His objection was chiefly grounded upon the distances being confounded by the glare of white. He seems well read in his provincial history.

On Thursday, after stopping to see a very feeble cascade at Sr. Daniel Le Fleming's, we reached Keswick to dinner. We found Southey, who had accepted our invitation. He is full of genius and poetical enthusiasm. His *History of Portugal* is suspended in order that he may

[1] 'Conversation' Sharp.

publish, by way of prefatory discourse, a *Life of the Cid*, which he is translating from an old Chronicle, and unfortunately into the style and language of the Bible. He has already made that experiment in his translation of *Amadis de Gaul*, and of his *History of Portugal*; to suit the curiosity of the day, he is going to publish the colonial part first.[1] This may be profitable, and the spirit of it obtained him from Whishaw the name of 'Voulgar Tradesman.' In the evening we visited his family; I was curious to see his interior. His house is excellent and beautifully situated. He seems much beloved by a numerous domestic circle of connections and friends; he is surrounded by heaps of old and valuable Spanish books.

On Friday we set off to profit by the hospitality of Ld. Thanet, who offered us the comfort and repose of Appleby. We passed by Ullswater, but only saw the upper part of the Lake, which, from all accounts, is very inferior in beauty to the view a few miles lower. From Pooley Bridge we drove through a very fine country to Appleby. On our road we got out to see Brougham Hall, a very beautiful place belonging to Mr. Brougham's father. The view from the terrace is quite magnificent; the family have not inhabited the house for many years, and it is falling fast into decay.

Appleby is placed in a commanding situation above the town; a pretty torrent rushes beneath the walls. The old Keep or Citadel was, till within these few years, used as the prison. Ld. Thanet is Hereditary Sheriff of the County. The present mansion is built out of the old Castle, or rather made within its walls. This was done by the celebrated Ann Clifford, the heiress and representative of the Earls of Cumberland; her daughter

[1] The *History of Brazil* was the only part published.

married a Tufton, and thus brought these immense northern estates into the present family. She wrote the famous letter, in reply to the solicitation of a Minister of Charles II. or James, to allow a Court member to stand for Appleby, 'I have been threatened by a usurper, neglected by a Court, but will not be bullied by a subject; your man shall *not* stand.'

Mr. Wyburgh, a lawyer of eminence, was in the Castle; he was employed on an election arbitration between Ld. Lowther and Thanet, upon the number of votes in Appleby.

Visiting Naworth Castle, where 'Lord Carlisle occasionally comes for a fortnight in the shooting season,' the party entered Scotland, and passing Longtown, Moffat, and Lanark, reached Hamilton. 'The Palace is reckoned gloomy. The present Duke has augmented the collection of pictures, but the Rubens and Vandyke still maintain their posts as the first. . . .'

8th.—Got to Dumbarton. Slept at Aroquhar; a good inn, well situated upon a salt loch; it was very beautiful, but we could not admire it after having spent the day by the side of Loch Lomond, so in a storm of hail, rain, wind, and sleet, and snow falling upon the mountains, we reached Inverary. The Duke[1] is in perfect health; the inmates there, the Bedfords, Ld. John[2] and Mr. Hunt, the T. Sheridans, E. Bligh, Lewis, Chester, Cornewall, H. Scott. At difft. times, Ld. Ely, Downshire, Messrs. Reid, Ld. John Campbell, Mr. Campbell, Col. Callander, McDonald, and Clanronald, and others whom I have forgotten. The house has undergone great alterations; the upper floor is entirely new

[1] George William, sixth Duke of Argyll (1766–1839), who succeeded his father in 1806. He married, in 1810, Caroline Elizabeth, daughter of George, fourth Earl of Jersey, and previously wife of the Earl of Uxbridge (afterwards Marquess of Anglesey), whom she divorced.

[2] Lord John Russell.

furnished. To enliven the scene the high road is brought close to the windows. Upon the whole it is a most princely domain, and the Duke is a noble Chieftain. The only objection to the mode of life is the extraordinary lateness of the hours, and the consequent inability of doing anything ; some wags have called it the Castle of Indolence. As late as half past seven in the morning, I have heard the billiards at work by T. Sheridan and Mr. Chester.[1]

After a tour along Loch Tay to Blair Atholl, they turned south to Perth, visited Brechin Castle and Dundee, and reached Edinburgh on October 6.

During our stay there we saw much of Messrs. Playfair, Jeffrey, Brougham, Murray, Dr. Cameron the Catholic Bishop (late Principal of the Scotch College at Valladolid), a very able man, Thompsons, &c., &c. Lauderdale came over to see us ; the Bedfords for a short time.

Slept three nights at Dunbar House, and went from thence to Howick, staying several days. Through York to Castle Howard; stayed three nights. Marsh remained there ; and by the way of Newark to Nottingham, where Ld. H. received the Freedom of ye City, and we went by Leicester to meet, at Hinckley, Henry E.,[2] whom Miss

[1] Lewis, describing this visit in a letter to his mother, says, 'I happened to wake about six o'clock, and hearing the billiard balls in motion, I put on my dressing-gown and went into the gallery, from whence looking down into the great hall, I descried Tom Sheridan and Mr. Chester (who had not been to bed all night) playing with great eagerness. Fortunately, Tom was in the act of making a stroke on which the fate of the whole game depended, when I shouted to him over the balustrade, "Shame ! Shame ! A married man ! " on which he started back in a fright, missed his stroke, and lost the game' (*Life and Correspondence of M. G. Lewis*, ii. 5).

[2] Hon. Henry Edward Fox (1802–59), afterwards fourth Lord Holland ; always a weakly child from birth. He was afflicted with a form of hip disease, which gave him much trouble all his life.

Fox brought us from St. Anne's. We there consulted with Chesher, a famous mechanician for instruments; he measured the limb, and gave us hopes that he could contrive an instrument to assist his walking. From Hinckley we went through Litchfield to Trentham Hall, where we stayed a few days; returned through Hinckley to Woburn Abbey. We there spent upwards of a week most agreeably. Returned home, Nov. 24th, 1807.

Dec. 12th.—Mr. Allen accompanied Henry E. to Hinckley, where he was to reside with Ld. Robt. Fitzgerald, and under his protection.

On 31st Dec. went without Mr. Allen, who was employed busily at home, for a few days to Brocket. We there heard of the measles having appeared in Ld. Robt.'s family, and set off to Hinckley to remove Henry E., if possible, in time. We slept at Woburn one night on our way in going, two at Ampthill, and one more at Woburn on our return. Henry E. did not escape the measles, but is now recovering.

January 1808, *H. House.*—Sr. Arthur Paget returned last month from his unsuccessful Embassy. For seven months he only slept one night on land. He never approached nearer the Porte than the small Island of Imbros. B. Frere returned with him. He sent Mr. Morier to Egypt.

The choice of G. Ponsonby for a Leader to the Opposition has been more approved, or, rather, to speak more correctly, less objected to than might have been expected.[1] The public laugh at the having sent to Ireland for a leader; Fox's friends are indifferent since his death. Petty is reasonable as usual, and

[1] Lord Holland says in the *Memoirs of the Whig Party*: 'Mr. Ponsonby was brought into Parliament at the beginning of the session for the purpose of assuming an ascendency over a large, intelligent, and independent body of gentlemen with scarcely twenty of whom he was personally acquainted. A preposterous scheme!'

Whitbread, goaded by a scribbling gazetteer of the name of Belsham,[1] submits with a thousand reservations each more hostile than the other. Tom Grenville absolutely declined, on the score of health alone; he is in fact far from a robust subject, and quite unfit to undergo the fatigues of a long debate. Sheridan's talents would entitle him to the first rank, but his profligacy of character, both as to veracity and honesty, besides his habitual debauchery, place him entirely *hors de combat.*

Ld. Granville Leveson is just returned from Petersburg; another fruitless Mission! He describes the Emperor as being totally subjugated by Bonaparte, and even trembling before his representative, General Savary, who assumes the air of a master in Russia.[2] From the little I have heard, he seems to me to be entirely belonging to the present Governt.

On Monday, the 17th, we took Charles to Eton. He is now launched into the sea of human affairs; the *world* of a public school he will find very different from that of the world seen from under the paternal roof.

On ye 16th, the chief persons of ye Opposition dined at Ld. Grenville's; Whitbread was not originally invited, but was so, at the particular request of Ld. Grey. Stahremberg[3] sent the whole of the correspondence

[1] William Belsham (1752–1827), author of a series of works, which he combined to form a *History of Great Britain to the Conclusion of the Peace of Amiens.*'

[2] Napoleon's insistence on one of the secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit, requiring Russia to close her ports against English vessels, was the actual reason for the Czar's declaration of war against England. Lord Granville Leveson left St. Petersburg early in November 1807.

[3] Prince Stahremberg was Austrian Minister in London. Lord Holland states that he did not consider his information reliable except where it was substantiated by documents. Metternich was Austrian Ambassador at Paris. The declaration of war of both Austria and Prussia was entirely due to Napoleon's instigation, as one step in his campaign against British commerce. Both countries had the sense to give no reason for their action.

between him and the Governt. which ended in the present rupture between them and his Court. Mr. Canning seems to have rejected the mediation of Austria in very unbecoming terms, and in his usual flippant manner; the whole will be made public. S.'s instructions are peremptory as to his quitting England before the meeting of Parlt. Bonaparte offered passports for *two* plenipos., hoped they would select men of '*formes simples*' and of a '*caractère impassible*'; a glance against either Lds. Lauderdale or Malmesbury. S., in his private letters to Metternich, complained of Mr. Canning's impetuosity, and misapprehension of several expressions. Whitbread, with malignity and in the most unprovoked manner, attacked Ld. Grey at dinner; all were disgusted at his rancorous spirit. It was unfortunate that such a wrangle should occur before Ld. Grenville upon the subject of peace, as he had only just been persuaded against seceding himself from the H. of Lords upon the precise subject of the question of peace, and the want of discipline and unanimity amongst the difft. parts of the Opposition.

18*th.*—Ld. H. dined at Ld. Stafford's. We went to the Birthday.

19*th.*—The same party dined here as did at Ld. Grenville's, with the addition of a few, and Ld. Erskine, *nommément* to prevent a recurrence of the unpleasant conversation between Whitbread and Grey.

I hear nothing but of Coleridge, which makes me regret not being acquainted with him. After having accepted, by way of recompense for three scurrilous letters against Mr. Fox which appeared in the *Morning Post* upon his residence at Paris, a Commissaryship at Malta, he is returned to England, where he is supposed to employ himself in writing articles in the *Courier*.[1] His nature

[1] These letters, Mr. Fox asserted in a speech in the House of

is radically bad; he hates and envies all that are good and celebrated, and to gratify that spleen he has given in to Methodism, not from conviction, but solely to enable him to give vent to his malignity in a garb which is a *passe partout*. He is fond of maintaining paradoxes; at a dinner lately he began by attacking Sir Isaac Newton's philosophy, Bonaparte's military talents, and Virgil as a poet. He is often obscure, a mystical species of platonic philosophy, which he dresses up according to his own metaphysical taste, and calls the *mind*. A new theory he descants upon at length, and in his exposition of it absorbs the whole conversation. I have heard of him from various persons; Campbell, the poet, furnished me with the latter particulars.

The debate on the Address went off very triumphantly for the Opposition in the Lords, and, as far as the negative success of the failure of Ministers in making an impression, did so in the Commons. Ld. Grenville made a masterly speech in which he pressed strongly the atrocity of the Copenhagen business, the impolicy of their conduct with regard to the U. States, rather depreciated the prospect of the advantages of the emigration of the Portuguese to *Brésil*, and touched lightly upon peace. The novelty of the night was Ld. Kenyon,[1] who did not acquit himself *formidably*. Some considered Mr. G. Ponsonby's speech as a complete failure, but more

Commons, were the origin of the rupture of the peace of Amiens. Certainly they were the means of rousing Napoleon's ire, for Coleridge had to leave Rome in 1806 in all haste, after a friendly warning that the Emperor intended his arrest. He was Secretary to the Governor of Malta, Sir Alexander Ball, 1804–5, a post which was rather the result of a chance visit to the island than an official appointment. He wrote for the *Courier* for several years at this period of his life.

[1] George, second Lord Kenyon (1776–1855), who succeeded his father in 1802. Lord Kenyon seconded the Address, but his speech was delivered in so low a tone as to be inaudible below the bar (*Hansard*).

temperate judges say it was not so, and the accident of not moving the Amendment arose from a misapprehension of more protests than his alone. Mr. Canning appears to have assumed the lead, and by an endeavour to appear dignified he was heavy and obscure, instead of being, as formerly, pretty flippant. Perceval excelled him much, but the fair ones allow there was not a good speech made in the whole debate. Mr. C. professed that Governt. had laid down a rule, which was to act directly contrary to what they found had been the conduct of their predecessors, and hitherto they had not erred.

On Monday, the 1st of Feb., we moved to Pall Mall. I had been confined many days with a smart inflammation in my eyes.

On Wednesday, 3rd Feb., a long debate in the Commons on Mr. Ponsonby's motion for further papers on the Danish Expedition.[1] Altho' he had spoken before, yet this was considered as a debut; his friends were rather anxious, as his forte lies more in reply than in the opening of a business. However, he acquitted himself well, and people seem to be generally satisfied with him. He was answered by Mr. Canning in a speech remarkable chiefly from its length, and the abundance of gross untruths; he read extracts out of those very despatches he refused to give to the House, and in one instance (a dispatch of Ld. Howick's to Mr. Garlike) read a sentence which, if he had read the context, would have given a different colour to the whole matter. He was

[1] The British expedition to Copenhagen in September 1807, which resulted in the seizure of the Danish fleet and the bombardment of that city. Canning had private information of the secret clauses of the Treaty between Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit. His refusal to produce papers which would incidentally have brought his secret agent to light, coupled with what they considered his shabby behaviour in joining the Tory Government, caused him much odium amongst the Whigs.

very flippant and offensive, and showed neither more nor less ability than usual. Mr. Mills[1] [*sic*], his *élève*, was quite extinguished; it was the first occasion on which he had attempted to speak without previously writing his speech, so he is completely given up by all and laughed at by his own party. Ld. Palmerston's maiden speech was not attended either with the bad or good qualities of a young beginner; he had practised in debating societies, and formed an unimpressive, bad manner. Some of Opposition who are for the expedition yet voted upon this question, but would not if it had been a vote against the Ministry for that measure. Upon the whole the effect of the debate was rather against Opposition.

Sick of, and indifferent to the measures of a hopeless Opposition, I have omitted noticing any occurrence.

July 1808.—Mr. Campbell, whom we knew at Madrid, returned from Spain with the Deputies from Seville.[2] He remained at Cadiz during the disturbances, surrender of the French fleet, and murder of Solano.[3] The conduct of Solano he ascribed to the greatest infatuation, proceeding from a blind confidence in O'Farrill.[4] The leading people at and about Cadiz, as soon as Murat's

[1] Milnes ?

[2] Mr. R. Campbell came over in the *Revenge*, man-of-war, with the deputies who had arrived to ask for English assistance against the French. Napoleon invaded Spain late in 1807, and set up his brother Joseph on the throne. This was too much for the *amour propre* of the Spaniards; they rose in arms, and in every town occupied by the invader outbreaks of the most ferocious description took place.

[3] Solano was Governor of Cadiz. The French fleet consisted of five ships of the line and one frigate, which had escaped to that port after Trafalgar, and had lain there ever since. They were forced to surrender a fortnight later to the Spaniards, as they were unable to leave the harbour on account of Lord Collingwood's fleet, which was waiting for them outside.

[4] Don Gonzalo O'Farrill (1754–1831), Spanish General, who sided with Joseph Bonaparte, and became his War Minister.

massacre[1] on the 2nd of May was known, urged Solano to hoist the Spanish flag alone, and summon the French fleet to surrender to the Spaniards. He temporised; he was at length threatened that unless he did something decisive against the French by the ensuing day, his life should answer for his conduct. The people showed great symptoms of discontent, called him *embustero*, &c. Amongst the mob many persons supposed of eminence were in disguise. During this period of hesitation on his part, young Perico Giron (whom we knew intimately at Madrid) escaped, upon hearing the events at Madrid, from his regiment at Badajoz, and arrived at Cadiz and challenged Solano. But no duel took place, for the fatal day came when the people assembled tumultuously around his house, called for him to appear and justify his inaction, none of the measures required by the inhabitants having been adopted. He appeared upon his balcony. The sight of him seemed to incense the mob; they attempted to force the entrance of the house, the gateways were barricaded. Upon seeing their fury, he got through the roof of his own house, and gained admittance into that of Mr. Strange (an Irish wine merchant), where he was concealed in a hiding-place so effectually that the mob, after searching, as they imagined, every place, were going off, when unfortunately a man, who had been employed only 14 days before to paint over a panel in order to cover a hiding-place, betrayed the concealment and discovered Solano. He made no resistance; the people hurried him to the place of execution. In going thither, some person said he ought to have a priest, upon which Solano said that it was unnecessary, as he had nothing to confess; this he frequently repeated,

[1] At Madrid on May 2 Murat put a large number of people to death without trial for supposed participation in riots which had taken place there that day.

till at length the mob lost all restraint, and upwards of fifty bayonets were plunged into his body, and his corpse was hacked and mutilated shockingly in a moment.

As soon as this disgraceful act of cruelty was over, the necessity of having some Governt. was felt, and it was agreed almost by acclamation that Morla, Don Thomas Morla, who had formerly been the Captain-General of Andalusia, and had distinguished himself by the prompt and decisive measures which he had taken to prevent the progress of the yellow fever, was the best fitted to fill the station now vacant. Morla, it was supposed, had not entirely made up his mind as to the side he should take, and that, like Solano, he waited for Dupont's [1] army. However, he had no choice, and accepted with reluctance the honour. He harangued the people with great ability and fortitude, assured them that if he undertook the charge he would fulfil it rigidly ; that they knew him to be inflexible, nor should he depart from what he thought his duty, notwithstanding the dreadful spectacle he had just beheld. He gave an immediate proof of his cleverness and dexterity ; during the tumult, about eight hundred of the *Presidarios*, galley-slaves, broke into the Arsenal, armed themselves and others. Morla was aware of the danger, and also of the impolicy of allowing such men to bear arms, and resolved upon disarming them instantly. He ordered processions to be made through the streets of the Capucins and other Franciscan friars, who were to chant hymns and prayers requesting the citizens to lay down their arms. By night almost all the inhabitants had deposited their arms at the feet of the friars.

I was pleased to find such a favourable opinion pre-

[1] The French General, Count Pierre Dupont, who was in command of the French forces in Andalusia. He was defeated by Castaños at Baylen in July 1808, and forced to lay down his arms with 18,000 men.

vailed with regard to the Duke of Infantado.[1] He had been exiled from his own estates, and lived at San Lucar, where he had acquired the esteem and confidence of all who saw him. Thus his conduct at Bayonne is conceived to arise entirely from compulsion. He was dismissed the Court in consequence of that affair at the Escorial in which he was involved, as there was a paper found in his possession signed by the Prince of the Asturias, nominating him as President of Castille, in which capacity he would have had the governt. of the country. The Prince contended that this instrument could have had no power but after his mother's death, in proof of which he alleged that the seal was affixed upon black wax, and it was only to obviate the danger that might have arisen in the country should his mother and the Prince of the Peace have been able to shut him up and attempt an exclusion or Regency.

We went in July to Woburn ; Mr. Brougham was with us. Our party consisted of Lauderdale, D. of Argyle, W. Elliot, Adam, etc. Extremely pleasant place, both grand and comfortable, and the park very pretty in some parts. Went over to see Luton, belonging to Ld. Bute. The house was built by his father, the Minister, and does no credit to his choice of an architect, the Adams. The collection of pictures is very numerous, the Flemish and Dutch schools are the finest, altho' amongst the great number of Italian pictures some are good. The most remarkable portraits are those grouped with some

[1] The Duke of Infantado was implicated, as Lady Holland relates, in the supposed plot of Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, against his father, Charles IV, in October 1807. The whole conspiracy was looked upon in many quarters as a device of Godoy's to ruin his rival Escoiquiz. The Duke accompanied Ferdinand to Bayonne the following April, and after his master's deposition offered his services to Joseph Bonaparte. On the first favourable occasion, however, he turned against him and was given a Spanish command.

malicious skill by Sr. Joshua. They are those of Ld. Bute and his Secretary, Jenkinson, now Ld. Liverpool.[1] The Prime Minister is represented with all the pomp and dignity of office, a splendid dress and commanding air; he is taking, rather than receiving, from his Secretary a bundle of papers, which the Secretary, with a most submissive air, is holding in his hands. The story tells itself, — the Duke of Lerma and Gil Blas; the abject, fawning, sly Secretary, and the haughty great man. People say Sr. Joshua Reynolds marked the characters so strongly in order to stamp the origin of a man, whose sneaking qualities he foresaw would raise him to distinction. Ld. Liverpool, I have been assured, offered frequently a very large sum to withdraw from the eye of the public this memorial. The Library is very extensive, and the three rooms which join it are handsome, altho' it might have been infinitely better.

We went to Hinckley to see Henry E., who had been there about a month with his aunt; his limb is not worse. From thence for one night to Farming Woods, belonging to Ld. Ossory; charming spot, fine trees, abundance of deer, and wild woodland scenery. Slept at Bromham, Mr. Trevor's, a pretty water place on the banks of the Ouse. From thence for three nights to Mr. Whitbread's at Southill. Ly. Madelina Palmer[2] was there. With the exception of the Trevors for one day, the rest of the company was *remplissage* of the very worst sort, fulsome flatterers, and disgusting dependents. Mr. Belsham, the gazetteer or pamphleteer, who calls his heavy compilation a History of England, was one of them; his manners and appearance are positively offensive

[1] The picture was painted in 1763, and is now at Mount Stuart, Lord Bute's residence in the Isle of Bute.

[2] Second daughter of Alexander, Duke of Gordon, and sister of Charlotte, fourth Duchess of Richmond.

to all the senses. He extols Whitbread to the skies, and makes him believe no man can serve the country with equal talents and honesty, and that nothing but Ld. Grey's envy at his superiority could have kept him out of the highest offices in the late Administration. He has composed a virulent libel against the late Governt., which he circulates about the country, and boasts of his forbearance, that out of consideration to Mr. Whitbread's *affection* for Ld. Grey that he does not publish it. It is particularly offensive to Grey, and the subject most urged is the failure of the negotiation. Mr. W. has an unfortunate relish for the society he indulges in at Southill.

Returned on Thursday, 11th August. On ye 19th August news arrived officially from Ld. Collingwood of Dupont's surrender to Castaños in Andalusia.[1]

16th August. The Spanish Deputies dined here. They are five in all, viz., Visconde de Matarosa[2] and Don Andres de la Vega (these were the first, who came from the Junta of Oviedo). The Visconde is a very young man, not above 19; la Vega is a sensible, well-informed man, esteemed by his countryman Jovellanos. Sangro is the Deputy from Galicia; he had been named to go to Bayonne, but escaped and was sent with another, Freyne,[3] who has since returned to Coruña with arms, &c., &c. The Sevillian Deputies are Jacome and Apodaca. Jacome is a member of the Junta at Seville. The latter is the admiral who commanded these last two years at Cadiz, and to whom the French fleet surrendered. He is very lively and pleasing in his manners, and of the whole

[1] At Baylen.

[2] Afterwards better known as Count Torreno. He was a member of the first Cortes at Cadiz, and had to leave Spain at Ferdinand's return. He lived in Paris until 1820, when he came back to Spain.

[3] Manuel Freyne (1765–1834), general, who served with distinction throughout the war. He refused employment under Ferdinand.

mission he is the one who has the most *usage du monde.*

He ascribes the misfortune of Solano to the machinations of a faction actuated by personal hatred. Had Solano complied with the demands of the mob, the consequence would have been the complete destruction of their own fleet, as at that moment the ships were so intermingled that the French could have sunk the Spaniards. Apodaca seemed satisfied with himself for his dexterity in getting out the Spaniards and not endangering them. They were in great spirits at the surrender of Dupont, and also at the news of the evacuation of Madrid. It appears that Joseph Bonaparte withdrew from thence on ye 29th, after staying only 3 days in *his* Capital, rather hastily, with the spoils and plunder of the palaces. He is at Segovia, with a force of 23,000, waiting orders from Napoleon. Moncey and his shattered Valencian army are with him. Mr. Vaughan writes from Coruña that Mr. Stuart (who was formerly at Petersburg) was received with great demonstrations of regard and friendship; the officers, naval and military, had shown him Ferrol, and as he returned the villages were illuminated. They had heard of Sr. A. Wellesley's landing at the mouth of the Mondego, the river so praised by Camoens.

We left home on Sunday, August 22nd, for this place Boundes, Ld. Hy. Petty's. Made an excursion from thence along the coast from Hastings to Brighton ; passed a few days at Mr. Beauclerk's, and returned home, 1st September.

At the end of October the Hollands set out for Spain, and did not return until the following August. Lady Holland continued to keep a detailed account of their travels and the information which reached them concerning the movements of the opposing forces in Spain and the progress of the war. This portion of her Journal, however, is omitted.

On August 12th, 1809, reached Holland House, where we found the children and my mother perfectly well. The Pettys and Beauclerks and many of our friends came from the country to see us, and stayed a few days in the house.

22nd Nov.—It is too distant from this present period to make a review of all the occurrences from that time to this. Mr. Canning and Ld. Castlereagh fought on 21st Sept. Ld. Wellesley has accepted his recall,[1] and is daily expected; many believe he is coming upon the misapprehension that the Premiership has been offered to him. Lord Lansdowne[2] died on 14th Nov., which event is fatal to the Opposition by removing Petty from the H. of Commons. He has endeavoured to annoy Petty by his will and much disrespect for his father's family, by making the remainder over to Ld. Winchilsea, and then to Ly. Lansdowne and her 2nd daughter.[3] To the latter, they say, a lease for 21 years is granted of L. H.

On 7th Nov. I was brought to bed of a daughter.[4]

Tuesday, 21st Nov., 1809, Ld. H. on this day completed his thirty-six years. He dined at Ld. Winchilsea's.[5] Mr. Allen and I alone. He read in eve. Berington's *Life of Henry II.*, a work not without merit, tho' the language is frequently barbarous.[6] The character of Becket is

[1] From Spain, where he went as Ambassador early in 1809. He succeeded Canning as Foreign Secretary.

[2] John, second Marquess of Lansdowne, previously referred to in these pages as Lord Wycombe.

[3] By a former family arrangement Lord Lansdowne was enabled, should his brother die childless, to draw up a deed of appointment as to the disposition of the property.

[4] Georgina Anne, who died in 1819.

[5] George, ninth Earl of Winchilsea, and fourth Earl of Nottingham (1752–1826), who succeeded his uncle in 1769.

[6] Joseph Berington (1746–1827), an Englishman educated at the College of St. Omer. He became a priest, and was one of the first of that persuasion to wear black clothes in England, from which

well drawn, and from his close researches into monkish chronicles he gives many interesting anecdotes which throw light upon the manners and mode of life in those times. He is a Roman Catholic priest, and tho' one sees a bias, yet he has more liberality than usual with persons of his class. Indeed, at Rome he was suspected of giving up the cause of the Church too much: accordingly for some time he was suspended from his clerical functions by a papal mandate. He is also the author of a life of *Abelard and Eloïsa*, and possesses in manuscript, which he dare not publish, a history of the revival of learning.

Mr. Canning wrote to Ld. G. Leveson: 'Lord Chuckle [*sic*] is, I hear, sufficiently recovered to take his prescription; accordingly, I shall send my letter to-morrow, and the other shall go abroad the day following.' So we may expect to-morrow to see this long announced and much looked-for *second* statement.[1]

Henry and his tutor, Mr. Shuttleworth, left us on Sunday for Hinckley.

Wednesday, 22nd.—Mr. Tierney, Mr. Grenville, and Ld. Darnley dined.

Thursday, 23rd Nov.—Ministerial papers announce very triumphantly that Ld. Wellesley has accepted the office offered to him by them, and is to come home immediately and fill his place.

Ly. Eliz.[2] came, the first time I have seen her since her marriage with Duke of Devonshire; I could not utter a congratulation upon the occasion. The Lambs, Mr.

others had up to then refrained for fear of persecution. He was the author of a number of works, historical and philosophical.

[1] Canning's statement was published in the papers on November 28. It took the form of a letter to Lord Camden laying the blame on him for the misunderstanding with Lord Castlereagh.

[2] Lady Elizabeth Foster married William, fifth Duke of Devonshire, on October 19, 1809.

Windham, S. Lockington, Sr. Robt. Wilson, Mr. Stuart, Duke of Argyle, Ld. Robt. FitzGerald, Ly. Affleck dined.

Mr. C.'s statement is not yet out. My mother returned from Gosport with Charles, whom she had been to see on acct. of his illness.

Friday, 24th Nov.—Ld. Wellesley has written to Mr. Canning assigning his reasons for accepting, but what they are I know not.

14th Dec., 1809.—The Whig Corporation of Nottingham having done Ld. H. the honour of choosing him their Recorder, vacant by the death of the D. of Portland, it was necessary for him to go there and take the oaths. Accordingly we took the opportunity of making the journey in part with him, and of paying some visits on our way, for change of air for me after a confinement is indispensable to keep off a whole train of nervous disorders, and I did not much relish the notion of a trip to Nottingham to share his civic honours. On this day we went to *Panshanger*, on *the banks of the Mimram*, a very Asiatic sound! A pretty place of Lord Cowper's in Hertfordshire. We took Tierney with us. Found besides the family, Lds. Essex, Erskine, and Mr. Giles Lewis. No news of the result of the election at Oxford,[1] but the Grenvilles began to despond.

Drove out to see the new college at Haileybury, a large, ugly, mean-looking conventual building. In the eve. news came of Lord Grenville's success at Oxford; carried it by a majority of 13.

15th.—Drove to Woolmers, a dismal, damp, ill-kept house, belonging to Ld. Stafford. It was too cold to walk to the spring, and, indeed, I am too lame to undertake any excursion on foot.

[1] For the Chancellorship of the University, rendered vacant by the death of the Duke of Portland on October 30. Lord Grenville, Lord Eldon, and the Duke of Beaufort were the rival candidates.

16*th*, *Sunday*.—We were to have gone away, but delayed our departure in order to see Ly. Melbourne, who was coming on the ensuing day.

17*th*.—Ly. Melbourne came.

18*th*, *Tuesday*.—Set off and resolved to go as far as we could, as Ld. H. was to be at Nottingham to a great dinner on Wednesday. The roads were in a very bad condition owing to the great fall of rain ; however, we reached Stamford and slept.

19*th*.—Ld. H. set off alone to Nottingham. Mr. Allen, Charles, and I went to see Burleigh, a stately edifice, not improved by the bad taste of the last proprietor. A few good pictures, and several beautiful portraits of Mde. de la Vallière after her profession, in the dress of the Order. Ascertained that the story of Ld. Exeter having made a bonfire, in the courtyard, of Voltaire, Rousseau, &c., was true. This was done to edify the people at Stamford during the *alarm*, to teach them to shun the doctrines of those apostates from religion, morality, &c. From thence we went to Grantham, where I resolved to take up my abode till Ld. H. returned.

20*th*.—Went to see Belvoir, which is undergoing a thorough reparation and improvement by Wyatt. It commands a staring, ugly view of the Vale of Belvoir. The antique baronial costume of the castle is destroyed by the introduction of modern fortifications and of artillery mounted upon the walls. The collection of pictures is very good. The famous 'Sacraments' of *Poussin*, and a pretty *Murillo* with three Virgins in white, exactly in the style of those in the famous 'Transito de Santa Clara,' in the convent at Seville. We sent for *novels* to the circulating library, and sat up reading the trash it furnished half the night.

21*st*.—Ld. H. returned pleased with the reception he

had met with from his fellow Burgesses, and we got on to Stilton, a bad, dismal inn.

22nd.—We went to Cambridge, to show Mr. A. the colleges, &c. Got there by daylight. Dr. Davy,[1] the Master of Caius College, made us dine with him ; a good-natured, trifling, insignificant man. Lord Percy, Dukes of Rutland and Gloster are to be the candidates for the Chancellorship, whenever the D. of Grafton will die and give them an opportunity of trying their popularity.

23rd.—A fall of snow which rendered the walking across the Quadrangle unpleasant. The Library at Trinity is very handsome, but the books are the least to be praised in it. A good bust of Newton. The chapel contains a statue of Newton ; the countenance is full of expression and genius, but the sculpture is very moderate, altho' considered by them as a *chef-d'œuvre*. Went to the chapel of King's College. Glad that my recollection of Batalha was so fresh that it enabled me to compare the architectural styles and beauties. That of Batalha[2] is generally superior in execution, the taste of King's chapel perhaps is more chaste and simple, but it does not possess one specimen of exquisite delicacy of sculpture ; the roses and portcullis are coarsely carved.

Passed through Eaton and Bedford. Reached Ampthill to a late dinner. Waters very much out.

24th, Ampthill.—Ld. Ossory as usual kind and very pleasant. Capt. Waldegrave, a cousin, and son of Lady Waldegrave. Our old shipmate, Sr. John Sinclair, Dr. Hunt, &c. A contagious fever at Southill prevents our visit ; Lady Elizabeth ill. Mr. Whitbread came over to

[1] Martin Davy (1763–1839). He was elected Master of Caius in 1803, and held that position until his death. He was a staunch Whig, and was given a living near Cambridge in 1827.

[2] A town in Portugal, one of the sights of which is a magnificent cathedral.

see us, much offended and irritated at the anonymous circular ; ascribes all as intended offences from Grey and Tierney to *him*. Reached Brocket on the 27th.

28th, Brocket.—Large family party with the addition of Messrs. Luttrell and Nugent. Ld. Kinnaird dined one day, grave, good-humoured, and agreeable; his illness has subdued and softened his naturally irritable character. We were to have set off again on the 1st January for Woburn, but I was seized with such a severe headache that I was compelled to return to my bed ; sent an excuse for that day to the D. of B. by Aleck, who was to meet us at St. Albans on the following day.

Monday, 2nd January, 1810.—Very much alarmed at the account brought by Aleck of Charles having met with a severe fall. Contrary to a promise given me by Lady Anne (and his uncle),[1] she allowed him to go out with her to a fox chase. He cut the inside of his leg between ham and knee dreadfully. Reached Woburn late, and after a hasty dinner Mr. A. and I set off to see Charles ; found him with fever. Went again next day to see the wound ; found it a most dreadful gash, as bad as anything can be which has not touched a vital part, and may not perhaps do him a permanent injury.

Sunday, 7th.—Ld. H. was so much pressed to go to town that he went to see Lds. Grey and Grenville, and dined at Mr. Grenville's. Duke of B. went next day and returned to dinner, bringing Lord Holland down with him. Ld. Kinnaird, Mr. Chester, Delmé Gunning, Morrice, General Fitzpatrick, Tavistocks, &c., compose off and on the party.

10th Jan.—We this day brought Charles over from Ampthill, who bore the motion of the carriage tolerably. He will oblige us to defer going away much longer than we intended to be absent from home.

[1] Lady Anne Fitzpatrick, and her father, Lord Upper Ossory.

Left Woburn on ——. Stayed at H.H. until Monday, 22nd Jan., the eve of the meeting of Parlt., and on that day took possession of our former dirty habitation in Pall Mall. On 23rd there were very sanguine expectations entertained of not only a good division, but even of a majority of 13 in the Commons, it being confidently asserted that many of the stoutest adherents of the former Ministry would keep away, such as the Lascelles', Pagets, Ld. Newark, &c. However, every one of these came up, and after a flat debate the majority was all on the wrong side. Numbers, 167 to 263.[1]

Mr. Ward made a brilliant display, and all the young gentlemen, movers and seconders, acquitted themselves with propriety. Mr. Canning voted for the Address in a bad, blundering speech, in which he did not redeem the pledge he had made of justifying himself in his place in Parlt. It was rather a whimsical coincidence that Ld. G. Leveson could not vote, not being *in time* to take his seat. This is the third time in his Parliamentary life that he has been baffled in voting upon dubious occasions however. In the Lords the attempt to stir Ld. Wellesley failed. Lord Grey's speech was a most finished oration. The division was great, 92; numbers which would formerly have broken up any Administration.[2]

On Friday Lord Porchester's motion of inquiry into the Walcheren expedition was most unexpectedly carried by a majority of 9 against Ministers.[3] Wilberforce behaved in the most flagrant but sanctified manner; he deserted his friend Perceval at the critical pinch.

[1] An amendment to the Address was moved in both Houses, deploring the ill-success of the late expeditions, and demanding an inquiry into the reasons of their failure. Creevey says in his journal (*Creevey Papers*, i. 123): 'Notwithstanding Tierney's calculations and prophecy that we should be in a majority, we were beat by ninety-six.'

[2] The figures were 144 to 92, against the Amendment.

[3] His motion was, 'To appoint a Committee to inquire into the policy and conduct of the late expedition to the Scheldt.'

Mr. Ponsonby is recovering his reputation ; he made a sharp, sarcastic speech which produced a considerable effect and reconciled those who had *snouched* most at him. Mr. Canning acted against inquiry, and upon observing to Ld. Temple that he (Ld. Temple) was in a majority, was answered, ' Yes, and the best part of it is that it was without yr. assistance.' Ld. Castlereagh, whose manly conduct and being considered as an injured man by the House has conciliated him much public esteem, voted for the inquiry.

Ld. Wellesley made his debut in the character of Minister upon the thanks of the House being moved to Ld. Wellington. Some commend, and others disparage his speech ; perhaps the middle line of praise would be nearest the truth. He was rather oriental in his style of praising his brother, but much may be owing to his feelings upon such a subject as that of his brother's merits undergoing a slighting review.

Poor Hoppner, the painter, is dead. Public attention and sympathy has been fixed by the sudden and mysterious disappearance of Mr. Eden,[1] who left his father's house in Old Palace Yard on Friday eve., having previously told his servant he should return in an hour, and from that time to this, an interval of ten days has elapsed without any tidings. A man was seen on that Friday, at 9 o'clock, scrambling upon the ice on the Thames, who, upon being called upon to stop, rushed on and plunged into the stream. Poor young man, he was to all appearance the last person in the world likely to lay violent hands upon himself.

Sunday, 28th Jan., 1810, *Pall Mall.*—A belief afloat that Prince Stahremberg is the bearer of an offer of

[1] William Frederick Eden, eldest son of William, first Lord Auckland. He was born in 1782, and was, at the time of his death, Deputy-Teller of the Exchequer.

peace from Ld. Wellesley to Napoleon. He went yesterday to Paris.

Lds. Thanet, Erskine, Sr. Philip Francis, and Don Domingo de Souza[1] dined.

June, 1810.—It appears that Windham from the period of his leaving College had kept a diary; the last entry was on the day the operation was decided.[2] He says: 'This day sentence has been passed upon me.' It fills 15 vols. in 4to., and according to his will is annexed as an heirloom to the proprietor of Fellbrigge; so in case of failure of issue in Capt. Lukin, it will fall into the hands of the Egremont family. A curious instance of weakness in Windham, and one that probably never would have been drawn forth, but for the feelings stirred up by the French Revolution: he has put Lord Egremont into the entail of his estate, treating him as a relation. During his life the relationship was never claimed, and certainly not admitted, either by him or by Ld. Egremont; the mode of spelling the name is quite different. He left six thousand pr. ann., at least, to his wife, who has most indecorously exposed to public sale all his books and common pamphlets; the latter especially are scribbled over entirely with his own observations on the margin. These have been bought up by the booksellers, and will hereafter be sold as immensely valuable from possessing

[1] Domingo Antonio de Souza, Marquis de Funchal (1765–1832), Portuguese Ambassador in England.

[2] William Windham died on June 4, 1810, from the effects of a severe operation for a tumour on his hip. About a year before he had sustained an injury from some falling woodwork, when engaged in trying to save from fire a valuable library belonging to his friend the Hon. Frederick North, and on this the disease fastened.

Windham's father, Colonel Windham, married, after his first wife's death, Sarah Hicks, widow of Robert Lukin, of Dunmow. To a nephew by this connection, Captain (afterwards Admiral) Lukin, Windham left his property on condition he took the family name.

His diary was published by Mrs. Henry Baring in 1866.

his notes. There is a pamphlet of Sr. S. Romilly's upon the state of Criminal Law, which is entirely written over by W.; and the strictures intended merely for himself to reply to in the H. of Commons are most likely not calculated to please Romilly, or indeed could they have been designed for his eye.

When Perceval proposed last year, 1809, to Lord Grenville and Grey to form a *part* of his Administration, some private correspondence in consequence of this overture took place between these Lords. They agreed perfectly in the propriety of rejecting the terms as proposed, but as it was just possible they might be addressed again upon a similar occasion, they discussed the state of their own views, &c. Ld. Grenville told Grey that whenever they came into office, and were enabled to make the concessions deemed necessary to the Irish Catholics, he intended to propose that his brother, Lord Buckingham, should be the person sent over; that he had always contributed so disinterestedly to the support of the party, that as it was his wish to go, he considered him entitled to it. This hint was not relished, nor was it combated; but the Grenvilles are great graspers and encroachers.

At the Installation[1] Lord Grenville promised the heads of Houses to supply them with venison, having been promised by his brother 15 brace. A few days before the festival Ld. B. sent to say he could not furnish any venison, and but for the good nature of private friends he would not have been able to fulfil his engagement. The Duke of Bedford told me this, and was one of the persons applied to, and gave 4 brace. Ld. B. is envious of his brother, and enjoys his feeling any mortification.

We made an excursion for seven weeks to the North

[1] As Chancellor of Oxford University.

in order to amuse Henry, and try the effect of change of air, as he was not well. We went by Derby and Lancashire to Appleby Castle, Ld. Thanet's. We stayed there a few days in order that Ld. H. might get some fishing; from thence we went to the Lake of Ullswater, and dined at Patterdale. Returned and slept at Penrith.

At Keswick we saw Southey, who was very agreeable; he is just about publishing two epic poems. Windermere is the pleasantest and most agreeable of all the Lakes to my taste. Mr. Dumont was of our party. We went rather impromptu to Edinburgh, by the Kelso road, to see Melrose Abbey. Kelso is a charmingly situated town and exceedingly pretty. Melrose Abbey disappointed me greatly, especially after John Clerk's praise, who described it as the finest remains of the richly wrought Gothic in the Island. I did not mind Walter Scott's poetry, but was very considerably chagrined at its being so very inferior to many even in England. The high roads now making in Scotland are very characteristic of the nation; they are *scientific and thrifty*, for they are upon good principles, but are excessively dangerous and alarming from the parsimony with which they are executed. They are contrived to go upon the mountains like terraces or ledges, so that the up and down is avoided, but then they are rather narrow, and there is not the smallest parapet or any protection which intervenes between the poor traveller and the deep valley below.

We remained only two days at Edinbro'. During that time poor Lady Rosslyn[1] died unexpectedly at Rockville. We dined one day with Mr. Clerk,[2] and were

[1] Henrietta Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the Hon. Edward Bouverie. She married, in 1790, James St. Clair Erskine, second Earl of Rosslyn.

[2] John Clerk, of Eldin (1728–1812), seventh son of Sir John Clerk, of Penicuik. He lived about six miles from Edinburgh. He was the

visited by the few persons then in town—Jeffrey, Murray, &c. We went to Dunbar; then to Howick; and spent a couple of days with Sydney Smith at Heslington, near York. I went to the Roman Catholic convent in York, to visit the daughters of Mr. Gordon, of Xeres; they seemed dejected and apprehensive that the state of Spain would prevent them from joining their family.

We made a deviation from the North road to see Lincoln Minster. We were repaid for the inconvenience of a very bad road and without exception the worst inn in England, as the Cathedral is very curious and magnificent. It is not so large as that of York, but the workmanship is much richer. I was startled when I entered the Cathedral at York; I could scarcely credit that it was the identical building which appeared spacious and lofty formerly, my eye having been recently so accustomed to the Cathedral at Seville which is about three times the size of York. At York the centre aisle is wide, but the two side aisles are narrow and low, whereas at Seville there are five aisles all equally wide and lofty, and *beyond* are large side chapels (at York there are none).

From Lincoln we went through Spalding to Peterboro'; I asked at Spalding how far off it was to the Fens. The postmaster replied that there were no fens in Lincolnshire now, and that geese were full as scarce as in Middlesex or elsewhere. I think it impossible he can be correct, for, tho' draining may do much, yet I remember such dykes and embankments against the waters then covered with flocks of geese, about 23 years ago, that it cannot be possible those waters can have been carried off, the bottom made sound, and put into tillage; about Boston and Crowland I meant. Peterboro' Cathedral has a beautiful façade; the inside is not worth much.

author of *An Essay on Naval Tactics*, which he claimed had much effect on the warfare of the day.

Katherine of Arragon and Queen Mary of Scotland[1] are buried there.

We returned here[2] on August 2, and found all well; the library wall rebuilt, but the house not in a condition for our reception. Accordingly we are going off in a few days to inhabit the Govt. House at Portsmouth, which Genl. Fox has lent most kindly to us.[3]

The few days we have been here we have seen Tom Sheridan and his wife, Ld. Erskine, D. of Argyle, Ld. Robt., Gen. Tupper, Mr. Whishaw, Kemble, Gen. Fox, Caroline Fox. I went one night to the Haymarket and saw the *Iron Chest.* General Ferguson[4] has been compelled to leave Cadiz on acct. of his health; he is afflicted with a liver complaint which is always aggravated in a hot climate. He acted the part of a real friend to our dear boy,[5] he went out with him in the *Lively,* and assumed a parental authority over him. He also, upon arriving at Cadiz, removed him from that ship, and placed him with Capt. Codrington of the *Blake,* where he now is, and is gone up to Minorca to escort the Spanish ships from Cadiz thither. He confirms the stories of the desertions from the French armies, and himself conversed with *three* native-born Frenchmen, who had deserted from want of pay and want of food, the most pressing want.

On Thursday, — August, left home for Portsmouth.

[1] Queen Mary's remains were removed to Westminster in 1612.

[2] Holland House.

[3] General Fox was appointed Governor of Portsmouth in 1808, on his return from Sicily, and died there three years later.

[4] General Sir Ronald Craufurd Ferguson (1773–1841), son of William Ferguson, of Raith. He saw much service, and sat for many years as a Whig in the House of Commons. The appointment, which he was obliged to relinquish at Cadiz, was that of second-in-command.

[5] Charles Fox entered the Navy in 1809, but disliked the life so much that he left in 1813, and entered the sister service two years later.

Henry, &c., accompanied us; the girls were to follow a few days later. Mr. Dumont came with us; we slept at Liphook, and reached Portsmouth on Friday. The Government House is a very large, rambling habitation, and was formerly a Cistercian convent.[1] From the interior arrangement of the rooms, and very inconvenient distribution of space, one can still trace its monastic origin. The conventual church, now converted into the garrison chapel, communicates with the great apartment, and access is immediate into the tribune. In that church Charles the Second married the Infanta of Portugal.

The *séjour* of this place has little to recommend it in the way of drives or walks, as the confinement of a garrison town is inconvenient for either, and indeed the whole neighbourhood more or less partakes of the stir and din of war. We see a few naval and military persons. General Whetham, the Lt.-Governor, a sprightly man, who talks good French, and has a superficial smattering of the light reading in that language; he was wounded in Flanders, and is a great favourite upon the Terrace at Windsor. Capt. G. Moore,[2] the brother of the General, whose good sense seems to have been bestowed in a fair division upon him, is a pleasing, well-informed, manly, gentlemanlike person. They are an affectionate, united family, and full of amiable qualities; he alluded to Sir John with feeling, his eyes were full of tears when in the course of some conversation he mentioned the narrative written by his brother James.[3] He told me that had the General

[1] The whole building was restored and remodelled by Street in 1866, and now forms the garrison church.

[2] Captain Graham Moore (1764–1843), afterwards Admiral Sir Graham Moore, G.C.B., third son of Dr. John Moore. He was in command of the English squadron which escorted the Regent of Portugal to Brazil, and was for some years a Lord of the Admiralty.

[3] James Moore (1763–1834), second son of Dr. John Moore. He was a surgeon, and wrote two books on his brother's life and campaign.

lived to return and lay aside his command, it was his opinion that an explanation must have taken place with Frere, as the gross personality and insulting language in his correspondence must have been apologised for or determined (?) in some decisive manner. Capt. Moore was at Lisbon when the Court embarked for the *Brésils*, and accompanied the Portuguese squadron thither, having on board many of the attendants and dependants of the Prince Regent.

21*st Sept.*, 1810.—Capt. Moore told us that one day at Rio Janeiro when Sr. Sidney Smith presented Capt. Schomberg to the Prince Regent, the Prince said he was exceedingly happy to see Capt. S. again, as he was the first Englishman he had seen after he left Lisbon.[1] This was said by the Prince in a particularly marked manner, as if he meant it to convey an indirect contradiction of Ld. Strangford's account in the Gazette of what passed on that occasion. Capt. Schomberg was Sir S. Smith's Captain when the Portuguese Court embarked for *Brésil*, and was sent in a boat to the Prince's ship, on board of which he went after it was on the outside of the bar. Sir S. Smith and Ld. Strangford went afterwards on board the P.'s ship together. Capt. Moore is persuaded that Strangford never saw the P. R. till he went on board of his ship with Sir Sidney. Capt. Moore saw the *Confiance*, on board of which was Ld. S., attempting the

[1] Dom John was appointed Regent of Portugal in 1799, on account of his mother Queen Maria I.'s insanity. In conformance with Napoleon's orders he proclaimed in November 1807, that he was about to detain all British subjects and property in Lisbon, upon which the British Minister, Lord Strangford, at once went on board the fleet, and broke off diplomatic relations. On consideration, however, the Regent preferred to remain friendly with the English and move the Court to Brazil ; consequently Lord Strangford returned, but not till after the Portuguese royal family had already embarked. This is the point here insisted upon, for Lord Strangford was accused of inferring in his despatch that the departure of the Court was chiefly due to his own representations.

night before to get over the bar, and observed to someone near him that Yeo (the commander of the *Confiance*) would not get to Lisbon before it was dark. The Prince weighed anchor next morning before it was light. We knew from Setaro how Strangford passed that night, and that the Prince had left his palace and embarked with an intention of sailing with the first fair wind two days before.

We have also seen Don Tomaso Blanco, the 2nd-in-command on board the *Algescias* ; he is the cousin of the author of the *Español.* He gave me the news of Mde. Ariza having returned to Madrid, where she was acting a considerable part owing to the influence she possesses over Urquijo.[1] He was a dependent originally of the Alba family, and owed his station in life to their favour and influence, which she now avails herself of by claiming in return his protection. The Town Major, who is under our roof, dined with us. Ld. Amelius Beauclerk,[2] a nephew of Ld. Bessboro's, and very like a Cavendish in his appearance and demeanour. Capt. Irwin, the commander of the *Puissant,* a sheer hulk, on board of which Charles was mustered during the period of his residence at Dr. Burney's at Gosport.

Great alarm prevails amongst those military in office, such as General Whetham and Sr. Roger Curtis,[3] in regard to the French prisoners. There are 17,000 at Gosport, and, in the hulks 4000 convicts lie very close to them, and

[1] Mariano Luis Urquijo (1768–1817), Spanish statesman, who acted in opposition to the Prince of the Peace and was imprisoned by him for two years. After the detention of the Royal family, he gave up hope for Spain, and sided with Joseph, with whom he fled to France.

[2] Admiral Lord Amelius Beauclerk, G.C.B. (1771–1846), third son of Aubrey, fifth Duke of St. Albans, and Catherine, daughter of William, Earl of Bessborough.

[3] Admiral Sir Roger Curtis, Bart. (1746–1816), naval commander-in-chief at Portsmouth.

Governt., by some strange mismanagement, has allowed French officers on their parole to live in this neighbourhood. They say there is a general system of organisation, that each officer has his corps, that a correspondence is maintained between them and Napoleon's Govt., and that it is his policy to keep them in this country so that they might assist him in the case of an invasion. There was in the winter 40,000 prisoners; the number is increased to 70,000 at present.

We drive and walk out in the morning, and our evenings are usually employed in reading or hearing Mr. Dumont read French. The *Lively* was wrecked on the rocks near Malta; the fault is ascribed to the Lieut. of the watch and the Master. The former neglected his official duty of apprising the captain when they made land. This accident happened early in Sept.; it made my heart ache, notwithstanding Charles is safely deposited in another ship. Capt. Stewart, of the *Seahorse*, now stationed at Palermo, to whom Charles was recommended by Gen. Fox and Ld. Keith (it being our intention that he should join him in the Mediterranean), being apprised of his sailing in the *Lively*, immediately upon hearing she was wrecked sent express to Malta to order him a supply of money and proper equipment, and also to secure a speedy passage from thence to him. All this was done in a most obliging and gentlemanlike manner, so as to leave a strong desire upon my mind of returning the civility whenever any opportunity should occur.

He describes the situation of Sicily as insecure, and the prospect of a speedy and inglorious termination to our career in it.[1] The Queen is hostile to the English; which she manifests in every way by opposing all

[1] Ferdinand of Naples withdrew to Sicily in 1805, and there established himself with his Court under British protection.

propositions for the defence of the Island, by influencing the inhabitants in ascribing to their profuseness and extravagance the high prices of all the articles of life, and by maintaining a correspondence with the enemy's Courts in Italy. Murat, with his 40,000 men, was encamped within sight, and whenever the Toulon fleet can assist him a descent may be expected upon the Island, and already the blockading fleet has been driven twice from Toulon as far down as Nice. I have also a letter from Lady Amherst [1] written in great trepidation.

Miss Fox and Miss Vernon came to us; we lodged them in a tolerable apartment in the High Street; they arrived on the 10th October.

On Saturday, 13th, we set off to spend a few days at Mr. Beauclerk's. Slept one night in our way at Arundel Castle. The alterations are not completed, the whole is done upon a grand scale, but without much taste, and without any comfort. The party was very numerous and far from select, a *mêlée* of neighbours and various dependents. Sr. Arthur Pigott [2] was the only person I was acquainted with. Met at Beau.'s, Major Capel. He was in the Galician campaign, and considered the retreat as so disgraceful, that had the Commander survived many general officers, for their own justification, would have insisted upon inquiry.

News of the brilliant repulse of the French at Busaco brought by the *Apollo* in 100 hours from the Tagus.[3]

Slept a night on our return at Worthing, to see Lord and Lady Lansdowne. Returned to Portsmouth on

[1] Lord Amherst was Commander-in-Chief in Sicily.

[2] Attorney-General in Lord Grenville's Administration.

[3] The French army of 72,000 men under Masséna invaded Portugal early in September. Wellington had only 50,000 men at his disposal; half of whom were Portuguese. He retreated before the invaders, but was able to deliver a severe check to their advance, at Busaco, on September 27, with but little loss to his own force.

Saturday, 20th October; remained till 27th, and went to St. Anne's, where we spent two nights. Returned home on the 30th, and went to the play.

The King's illness declared; it has long been suspected that the physicians were detained as much on the account of the *father* as on that of the daughter.[1]

In the *Apollo*, General Simon, who was made prisoner at the affair of Busaco, came home. He tells a story of his having accompanied Masséna to reconnoitre the position of Busaco, and that upon his observing *que la position était forte*, Masséna with some asperity replied, 'Yes, but I have seen many stronger forced.' Simon construed this retort into a reproof, and answered only by requesting that if any attack was to be made, he might be entrusted to lead on that occasion. Accordingly he commanded a division on that day; the ascent was so steep that he was compelled to dismount, and was soon surrounded, and made prisoner.[2]

The King being incapable of affixing the sign manual to the Act for the further prorogation of Parliament, the two Houses met in consequence of the prorogation expiring on Nov. 1st. It being an unexpected meeting, very few persons, especially of Opposition, were present. Ministers, however, had foreseen the event for a day or two, and Treasury Notes were issued and messengers sent to Cheveley and other Ministerial houses in the country. Ld. H. supported the proposal of adjournment and deprecated all discussion, adding that he could

[1] The critical state of the King's mind was adversely affected by the illness of Princess Amelia. After her death, on November 2, he became permanently insane.

[2] Yet Masséna represented to Napoleon some weeks later that the frontal attack on the British position was only a feint, which had developed from over-keenness into a general engagement. His dispatches, however, captured after the action, made no mention of this fact (Sir Herbert Maxwell's *Life of Wellington*).

have wished the adjournment had been from day to day only. Sheridan flourished, and affected to speak the sentiments of the Prince. He had artfully fortified Tierney in his unsettled feeling upon the occasion, and Tierney had injudiciously, in consequence of some strange crotchet, abstained from going down. The Prince resides at Windsor, and conducts himself with very unusual discretion; he has not seen or sent to any person whatever. Sheridan has attempted to see him, but hitherto without success.

2nd Nov.—Pss. Amelia died. She was the youngest, the prettiest, and the most beloved of all the Princesses; her life had been artificially prolonged but to suffer, as her complaints were incurable and of excruciating pain. Previous to her receiving the Sacrament, in compliance with the earnest entreaty of the Prince, she consented to see the Queen, with whom she had inflexibly refused to have an interview, saying that she ascribed the misery she had undergone for 10 years, and perhaps her actual hopeless situation, to her hardness of heart. After seeing her, she dictated a letter to the Prince telling him that his *eloquence* had prevailed, and taught her to survive resentment, the last feeling in the human breast.

The P. and D. of Cambridge are joint executors to her will, which the Prince has determined shall not be proved. The P. behaved throughout with the greatest tenderness, and previous to her death facilitated their interviews. The P. is behaving with the utmost circumspection and decorum, owing partly to the occupation of fulfilling his sister's wishes and ordering the ceremonial of the funeral with which he is entrusted. He has not seen any of the Opposition.

Ld. Grenville, who came to town yesterday (9th Nov.), has had two visits from Tommy Tyrwhitt.[1] He represents

[1] Afterwards Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, and Black Rod.

the first as an inspection of his state of mind and body (reports being current that he was bad and dying). He smiled and said he had passed muster very well. The 2nd visit was to state the condition of the King, but the communication was verbal, and the channel not such as to lead to anything very confidential. If the bulletins between this and Tuesday should be favourable, the news from Portugal good, and their nerves strong, it is supposed Ministers will hazard the attempt of an adjournment; if not, a summons for the meeting of the Privy Council will be issued, and an examination of the physicians take place on Wednesday, and their report be brought before the House and taken into consideration on the day following that which is fixed for the meeting. Probably even amongst themselves they are as yet undecided how to proceed. Ld. G. Leveson (who speaks the language of Ld. Harrowby probably, but does not adopt his views or sentiments) is of opinion that if the Regency should be proposed, it will be clogged with limitations and every species of restriction, and that any artifice will be resorted to likely to incense the Opposition and impel them to utter some rash expressions which will ruin them with the public.

14*th Nov.*—Our leading Lords are each to maintain their former doctrines in '88. Ld. Grenville grounds his line upon the course he adopted when he was Speaker, and refers to his speech, or rather book, published with his authority. He even goes the length of consistency so far as to hint that he would advise the P. to suggest himself the limiting his powers as Regent; *par parenthèse*, if he were to drop such an opinion at C. house, his favour would vanish instantly. On the other hand, Ld. Grey is equally firm in maintaining his own opinion, which he urged so strongly formerly. If this difference between them should transpire before to-morrow,

Ministers would avail themselves of it and get them debating amongst themselves. Grey and Lauderdale came up last night; I have been with them, and sitting for two hours by the bedside of the latter, who is ill, and will hardly be able to attend to-morrow. It is one of the few occasions when his absence will perhaps be an advantage, as he would proclaim opinions I fear he has imbued his companion with already too much, viz., that it would be manly and due to the country to express the necessity of the King's abdicating even if he should recover from this temporary derangement, for the loss of sight and increasing deafness are infirmities incompatible with the performance of the kingly functions. This uttered in public will completely ruin their cause; for, strange as it may appear, the increasing maladies of the K. endear him to the country.

The jokers say that the K. reigns upon the *sense of taste and touch,* having outlived the others. On Saturday he had a lucid interval; he asked what had been done, for 'I know my situation!' Poor, wretched man, these returns of reason are most melancholy. Ld. Moira was hurt and angry at not being sent for; he wrote up to C. H. to know the reason. He was answered that the P. had neither written nor sent to anybody. Such is Court favour! For who so favoured as he was? Ld. Grenville says he *knows* that the K. was ill several days before it was imparted to Perceval, but who knew it, or who caused it to be kept secret, he does not know. The D. of York is behaving ill to the P., taunting him with old allusions, and when there is a favourable symptom exulting in a manner which denotes his joy that they have a chance of escaping his dominion. The sending for Reynolds and Willis was without the knowledge or consent of the R. family. Ld. Grey shakes his hopes by his fears as to Portugal; he considers the case as

desperate, and Ld. Wellington's army quite ruined. This belief is grounded upon Ponsonby information, and none of that family can be credited, especially *Snouch* [1] and Ld. Ponsonby.

On the 15th Parlt. met in the Lords. The Chancellor and Ld. Liverpool held out great hopes of a recovery. Ld. Grey worked skilfully upon very tender ground, no other than in plain English saying that if the King recovered it was only to a state of dotage, and that the loss of sight and hearing disqualified a man, without even the loss of reason, from fulfilling the functions of a sovereign.[2] The Ministers were not in spirits, else they might have replied and done him great mischief in the country. Ward, who is a *friend*, sneeringly observed that the *Whig* earl would make few proselytes to the doctrine deposing the Monarch. Ld. Grenville spoke, but, I was sorry to hear, in a feeble, disorganised state. Ld. Moira took a line of his own in favour of adjournt., affecting to speak the language of the P. Indeed, with much affectation, he told Lds. Grey and Lansdowne that his speech he was conscious was *bad*, but that was always the case when a person spoke contrary to their own opinion; but he was compelled by instructions from a quarter he was bound to obey, designating as distinctly as possible the Prince. In the Commons Burdett provoked a division, in which persons voted as they liked. Grey, Lauderdale, Ld. Ponsonby, Jersey, and Tierney came here after the debate and dined. The King is certainly worse, and the Ministers are puzzled.

27th Nov.—Ld. Grenville quitted town the day after the adjournt., *oppressed* by the recollection of his

[1] George Ponsonby.

[2] It is impossible to trace so extended an interpretation in the report of the speech given in *Hansard*, though a veiled meaning is possible in some of his carefully worded allusions to the royal power.

former opinions delivered when Speaker; but since, whether the continued illness of the King or other equally cogent reasons have convinced him that he may relax, it seems he has written to Ld. Grey, to inform him that upon reflection he does not feel the necessity so imperious of urging these opinions, for tho' he maintains the same principles, yet expediency qualifies them at present. It is expected that the summons for the convoking the Privy Council will be issued this evening indiscriminately to all Councillors.

Mr. Adair, *alias* the melancholy Jaques, arrived here a few days ago, and still continues our inmate in his way from Constantinople. He stopped at Cadiz, and brings very interesting accounts of the first meeting of the Cortes.[1] Arguelles, Capmany, Gallego, Torneros are the leading speakers. I know very little upon these matters, but it strikes me that they have been guilty of great impolicy in excluding the Grandees from their body, as it must make them feel irritated at the slight. Were I one of that class, shut up upon that dreary causeway, my sole occupation would be to quit them and join any party where my territorial influence would be considered; for these Grandees, with scarce any exception, fled with the Patriots, and sacrificed their *all* to what they considered was the *common cause*, but which to their consternation and mortification they now find was only the cause

[1] The ordinary composition of the Cortes was a three-chamber assembly consisting of clergy, nobility, and commons. The Central Junta, in whom the power of calling together the Cortes rested, decided that as a compromise with the extreme party of reform, only two chambers (the higher clergy and nobility sitting together in one) should be summoned to assemble early in March. The advance of the French, however, postponed the meeting, and the supreme government was placed in the hands of a Regency of five. These took good care to keep the power as long as possible, and when the Cortes was at last found necessary, only one chamber could be elected, and that within the boundaries of Cadiz, for the French were almost at their gates. See Appendix B, p. 297.

of a few; not to say that it would be some satisfaction to assist in overthrowing the *patriotic Junta*, created upon principles far different from the former practice when the Cortes used in ancient times to be assembled. By this scheme of exclusion they create in the heart of the little community a strong interest against themselves. Formerly the *bravo Militar*, which was the nobility, were an integral part of the Cortes; now they are not called. Mr. Stuart, of Lisbon, and Ld. Wellington write home against them as having a Jacobinical tendency, and being merely a *réchauffé* of the French Revolution.

The latest Governt. accts. are to the 12th from the Tagus, Sr. Robt. Wilson [1] *en debite* news of the 15th, with the story of Drouet having joined with 15 *bataillons*, which makes about 9000 men. Sr. Robt. is greatly and justly offended at having been dismissed officially the Portuguese service; this naturally enough tinctures all his opinions and disposes him to view *au noir* both Wellington's and Beresford's campaign. The enemies of Wilson accuse him of having taken great credit to himself for resistance in the *Puerto de Baños* after the battle of Talavera, whereas Ld. W. has recently discovered that he did nothing whatever there.[2] Also there is another charge, which, if substantiated, is serious, but from his general reputation is considered as highly improbable, viz., peculating in his transactions about raising the

[1] General Sir Robert Wilson (1777–1849), author of *The History of the British Expedition to Egypt*. He served both in the British army and in various continental corps. He was dismissed the service in 1820 for his supposed conduct at Queen Caroline's funeral, but was reinstated by William IV.

His Lusitanian Legion was amalgamated with the Portuguese army during its reorganisation.

General Drouet joined Masséna with the Ninth corps, forcing Wilson across the Mondego, from fear of being surrounded.

[2] Sir Robert's affair at Puerto de Baños was an attempt to check Ney, at the head of a large force, with a number of Spanish and Portuguese levies. He lost a thousand men in the attempt.

Lusitanian Legion. He is a very active officer, and whatever blemishes he may have in rhodomontading, I know from experience, having been in the country at the time, that when every other English officer took to his heels, he alone remained, and by setting a good face upon matters kept in check at Salamanca a French corps of 6000 men, when he was in Ciudad Rodrigo with only a few half dismounted cannon and some of his miserable Legion.

Bulletins bad; Ministers defer till the latest hour issuing the summons of the Privy Council. Great failures at Liverpool. Huskisson's pamphlet upon the report of the Finance Committee, a very general topic of conversation.[1] L., a little jealous, accuses him of stealing some of his own best observations and disfiguring them for concealment.

28*th.*—Hurrah! Huzza! A long and delightful letter from Charles, and a copious journal of all that has occurred since he sailed from Cadiz Bay, 7th August! He writes from Gibraltar Bay, 5th November, then in quarantine on acct. of symptoms of fever. Inquires if the ex-pigs are likely to have a little suck. Seems not so keen for Navy as before; thank Heaven, if he should at the end of a year sicken of it! *Oxala!*

The Privy Council is called to-day for the examination of physicians. Baillie remains at Windsor to attend the K. during the absence of the others, but comes for examination to-morrow. Great rumours of adjournt. being again intended.

29*th, Thursday.*—Evidence of the medical men favourable as to amendment, but nothing said as to the time for recovery.

Dec. 6*th.*—There has been a communication with the

[1] Huskisson resigned his post at the Treasury in 1809, and followed Canning into retirement. His pamphlet entitled 'The Depreciation of the Currency' received much notice.

Prince; the complection of the business is not very favourable. It seems that in consequence of a trivial expression dropped accidentally in a conversation Ld. Grey held with Mr. Tucker, the latter gentleman conceived it to be sufficiently important to induce him to *repeat* it to Col. McMahon[1] to report to the Prince. The expression was that affairs were in that state that, 'if the Prince were to hold up his finger he would have every thing his own way.'

The Prince, who sees Adam frequently, had talked to him frankly enough in general. One day during their conversation the Lord Chancellor solicited an audience: the P. desired he might be admitted, and at the same time begged Adam to wait, as he should soon close his conference with the C. It was, however, of some duration, but when Adam returned, he assured him the visit was merely one of form respecting some circumstances connected with the Pss. Amelia's will; that he had listened and made no reply beyond a very formal bow. This might, or might not be true; Adam had his doubts. The Prince then began saying (which astonished Adam) that he had received a communication from Ld. Grey, who implied that he had not taken part enough in the business of the K.'s illness. That he might be right or wrong, but that he was resolved upon remaining quiet; that he esteemed both Lords Grenville and Grey, but could not see them; that if they wished to serve him they ought to ask Ministers in Parlt. whether any official notification had been made to the Prince of the condition in which H. Majesty was; also that if he were compelled by circumstances to maintain them, yet if they got into minorities by their mismanagement, he might

[1] One of the gentlemen in attendance on the Prince of Wales. 'That warlike scaramouch Macmahon,' of Peter Pindar. He died in 1817.

then be enabled to follow his inclination and call them, —Opposition, to his Council. He desired Adam to communicate this to Lds. Grenville, Grey, and Mr. Ponsonby; Tommy Tyrwhitt also told Ld. Grenville. It was agreed that a respectful answer should be conveyed to the Prince, couched in all the usual proper terms; the substance, however, declining to adopt any line of conduct expressed through a secret understanding, as it would be doing exactly what they had so much deprecated during their own Administration—that of the King ostensibly employing them, but, at the same time, consulting with his secret advisers. Ld. Grenville said that the position of affairs might be such that were the Prince to consult him, he did not know but that he might recommend him to keep the present Ministers; but having done that he must withdraw and act upon his own principles until he was publicly called as an adviser. The expression which put Ld. G. upon the alert was that of the possibility of minorities, which he construed into a determined plan of Prince's betraying those he openly supported. Ld. Grey was compelled to leave town on acct. of Ly. Grey's lying-in.

Subsequent to this transaction, Adair, on the pretext of giving the P. some curious anecdotes of his Embassy, solicited an audience, and by dint of solicitation at length obtained one. In the course of the interview, the P. launched out in his eloquent, rhodomontading manner, abused the late Ministry (always excepting Ld. H., whom he professes so much to love), whom he accused of treating him worse than his avowed enemies. Added that he knew they now complained of his not sending for them, but that he would be d—— if he did; they accused him of being timid and nervous, but that by G—— they and the world should see that he was *un homme de nerf*; that he would not be dictated to by the haughty freaks and

caprices of any man; turned frequently to the portrait of Mr. Fox, whose death was to him an irreparable loss, for he really loved him, and in any critical juncture his advice was always that of a sincere friend who was blessed with the soundest head man ever possessed; abused the late Cabinet for their treatment of him in the affair of the Princess, and, in short, spoke with all the vehemence and irritation of an offended and wounded mind.

7th Dec., 1810.—The bulletin yesterday was less favourable, and that of to-day is indifferent; admits that the disorder had returned, but that some hours of sleep had refreshed him. By the private acct. it seems that his bodily indisposition is rather alarming, a recurrence of the stoppage in his bowels; his body is greatly emaciated. Phipps, the expert oculist but very silly man, has been prevented by Willis's orders from seeing him, as he was detected in talking upon religious matters, future state, dying, &c., &c. The report yesterday was that Ministers, if by the King's relapsing they should be compelled to resort to some mode of Regency, intended to have that of the *Lords Justices*. To-day Mr. Grenville told me that the scheme was to make the Queen Regent. All these schemes will perplex and frighten the Prince, and drive him to resort to his friends. Ld. H. saw McMahon, who declares that Ld. Moira and Sheridan, who are affecting to speak the language and sentiments of C. House, on the contrary, have displeased the Prince, whom they do not see and whom they have not had any authority whatever from to act as they do. Whilst the P. is in town he sees no person whatever but Lady Hertford, with whom he spends the whole morning and evening. Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor he sees as a butt, but with him he holds no sort of intercourse respecting

his political opinions. They say Govt. has money for 10 days longer.

15*th Dec.*—On Thursday the Houses met; the K.'s health not being in a state for the physicians to report upon with any hope of immediate recovery, Ministers did not suggest an adjournt., but proposed a Committee for the purpose of examining the physicians. The choice of persons in Commons was very fair, in the Lords less so, as neither Lds. Lauderdale, Holland, or Stanhope are named, which, considering the absence of Ld. Grey, is not so right.[1] Except Ld. Erskine and the D. of Norfolk, there is not a man who will ask a leading question, and these will be overruled. The Prince broke down in Kensington on his way to Windsor. When Ld. Grenville heard of it he affected to be facetious, and wondered the Princess did not offer him a bed; true it was the Prince was excessively afraid of her offering him a carriage, which she certainly would have done had she known of it at the moment. The projects of raising money by the Privy Seal, &c., are dropped.

18*th Dec.*—It appears from the examination of the physicians that the King's illness is such that a Regency must be resorted to immediately; consequently yesterday Mr. Perceval proposed 3 resolutions the same as those in 1788. 1st, that on account of H. M. indisposition he was unable to discharge the duties of the kingly office. 2ndly, that it was the duty of the House to see that the kingly office be properly filled. 3rdly, that it was necessary to provide for the proper discharge of the same by way of a Bill to pass through both Houses of Parlt. Sheridan, Ponsonby, and Adam have thrown down the

[1] The Committee of the House of Lords was appointed by ballot, each Peer having the right to send in a list of twenty-one names. That of the House of Commons was named by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

gauntlet and taken the field; the Prince's household will vote. There is a Call of the House, and now the Prince takes a part there will be a very good division. Some of the most sanguine go the length of expecting a majority; there is no doubt but many shabby ones will desert the Ministers. The usual supply of those upon these occasions from the City will fail on acct. of the report of the Bullion Committee, as they will prefer taking their chance of keeping Perceval Chancellor of the Exchequer to making the Bank pay in specie.[1]

It was not with any satisfaction I heard of a few additional votes by the accession of Mr. Canning and his friends upon this question. Majorities, even if helped by a faithless associate, are mere ropes of sand. Faithless and unprincipled are the leading traits in that gentleman's character. It is said that he complains of having met with so little warmth from the Opposition, with whom he would have acted long ago had he been encouraged. The greediness for numbers makes me dread his reception; all who dislike Whitbread, and that is a huge majority, and all who feel the incapacity of *Snouch*, are inclined to hearken to his overtures. Ld. Castlereagh, though labouring under many heavy charges for his conduct towards the Irish Catholics, has still maintained a sort of integrity of reputation for private honour; he also has the advantage of being a person whom the Prince would prefer if any junction were to be made with new men, and his ambition is of a limited nature, as he would confine himself to his department and only promote persons either from goodwill towards them, or for the general advantage of the Administration to which he belonged. He makes no high professions of exalted

[1] The report of the Bullion Committee, of which Horner was President, was that paper issues were liable to depreciation unless convertible at any time into money.

principle, but as a gentleman and man of honour he might be trusted. In the late curious quarrel between him and Mr. Canning, his conduct was much admired, and his bitterest enemies said how infamously must he have been treated by his colleague, when even in Ireland he is considered as the injured party.

Several questions in the Committee were expunged. In that of the Lords the word *mind* was employed, when Ld. Westmorland, with an air of the greatest feeling and pathos, implored that it might be erased, as it was too shocking to have on record: this great delicacy *from him*, who is at this moment dictating evidence to enable him to confine his own wife, in order to avoid the expense of a separate maintenance. Sheridan laughed at the conduct in the examination of the physicians, where he said they questioned the physicians about the mental malady and the mad doctor upon the bodily disease. It appeared that the Chancellor was introduced to the K. by way of a *medical expedient* by Vaughan, who had observed that in his presence the King had more *self command.* In consequence of this transpiring, the Chancellor, in their Committee, conceived himself bound to go the whole length of the business to acquit himself of seeking the interview with the King.

MacMahon says the Regency is to be accepted on any conditions by the Prince, who will return the same letter by way of answer, as that he sent in '88 (said letter, Mr. Adam says, was written by Lord Minto, materials from Mr. Fox); that he may probably tell these Ministers that it is his intention to keep them for decency sake, but that he has no confidence whatever in them, and cannot feel that he is fulfilling his duty. In short, if they do not, which he expects they will, resign upon this intimation, he will keep them a month to give the King a chance of recovery, and then dismiss them.

The Queen will have the custody and control of the King's person and household, and to set off with, she can appoint the Chamberlain, now vacant by the death of Lord Dartmouth.[1]

The King of Sweden[2] lives chiefly with the French Princes, and now occupies the apartment vacant by the death of the Queen of France. He is *très in-amusable*, very much absorbed in his own thoughts, and indifferent to all that is going on around him. He has very little money, but will not accept of any from the English ; 500*l.* and jewels estimated at 30,000*l.* on the Continent are all he is worth. When lodged at the hotel, he asked for an inferior apartment to that which was prepared for his reception, and accused the master of imposing upon him by charging for a whole bottle of wine, when he had only drunk about half of it and returned the remainder. He does not speak of the Swedes with any irritation, allows they were in the right for dismissing him as he did not suit them, resolves not to attempt to be restored, and only hopes his moderation may induce them hereafter to consider his son. This is not madness certainly, but nevertheless he is reckoned to be in a state of melancholy madness. Lucien Bonaparte is arrived,[3] but he is not to be allowed to come to London ; Ludlow is named as his place of residence.

24*th Dec.*—On Thursday, the day of the debate in the H. of Commons upon the resolutions, the Prince

[1] The appointment was not filled up till 1812, when Lord Hertford accepted the post.

[2] Gustavus IV. (1778–1837), who succeeded his father as King of Sweden in 1792. His tactless and inconsequent behaviour so irritated his people that they deposed him in 1809, and gave the crown to his uncle. After leaving Sweden Gustavus lived chiefly in Switzerland.

[3] Lucien Bonaparte's second wife was Madame Jouberthon, the widow of a stockbroker. He quarrelled with his brother over this marriage, and after the Duc d'Enghien's death went to Italy. He attempted to reach America, but was captured by an English ship, and after a detention at Malta, was brought to England. There he remained until 1814.

received a letter from Mr. Perceval informing him of the intentions of the Ministry. To this the Princes wrote what they call a solemn protest of the male branches of the Royal family, disapproving of the limitations and restrictions. Prince also wrote a good reply, which was the composition of himself and Sheridan. War between Perceval and the Prince being openly declared, all the household, &c., of Carlton House voted. This, however, produced no great accession of *rats*, only the Seymours and Mr. Monkton. The Grenvilles being disunited upon the subject may acct. for the badness of the division. Mr. Horner made an admirable speech, full of sound argument upon constitutional doctrines, and illustrated with most accurate learning. Tierney says he gave the House for two hours two quarts of Allen's milk without their making a wry face; alluding to S. Smith's joke that Mr. A. is quite a milch cow to the politicians, whom he furnishes with matter and argument, and has in this business done so abundantly to those who are studying the subject. Mr. Canning made but a bad attempt at pleasantry. Ld. Castlereagh, speaking of the conduct of Addington's Administration during the K.'s illness, said he believed that Governt. *did not practise any concealments towards him*, or something to that effect. The House immediately applied it as a slap to Mr. Canning. Others say it was a mere slip of the tongue. Wm. Lamb on the following day distinguished himself very greatly; he is certainly one of the most rising men in public. The great feature of that night's proceeding was Perceval's indiscreet avowal of his principles of delay and Ministerial Regency (without limitations), from which Tom Grenville remarks that as Perceval has now declared himself King, Lords, and Commons upon his own *responsibility*, the whole question is shortened and made much less complicated.

The D. of Queensberry died to-day without a struggle at three o'clock; his will has not yet been opened.[1] His heirs-at-law are the D. of Buccleugh, Sr. Chas. Douglas, Lord Wemyss.[2] He expressed a wish of altering his will yesterday, but was too rambling. He said he had been a fool in leaving legacies, for in fact all belonged to Bonaparte, and any distribution was idle. He has always said and believed in this.

On Sunday, 6th Jan., the Prince sent to see Ld. Grenville, who accordingly waited upon him at Carlton House; the communication was made through Mr. Adam. Prince, when he came, desired this might be considered as a joint application to him, as well as to Ld. Grey, who unfortunately was not arrived in town. The immediate object of the interview was to have advice how to frame the answer to the deputation which was coming from the two Houses, to offer the Regency. He then told Ld. G. that he felt his situation very embarrassing, that it would be difficult to act in any way to please people, or make a strong Government. That he heard from those who were in the H. of C. that the great difficulties rested there, that he wished Ld. G. to understand that he was against exclusions, and if it were judged expedient to resort to additional strength, meaning Canning, he had, whatever his own opinions respecting him individually were, no objections to the experiment. He said there was also another topic which he had at heart, the restoring his brother to be Commander-in-

[1] William, fourth Duke of Queensberry (1724–1810), the celebrated courtier and *roué*, known as 'Old Q.' The larger portion of his money was left to Lord and Lady Yarmouth, the latter being Maria Fagniani, whom the Duke always considered was his daughter. George Selwyn believed that this lady was his child and not the Duke's, and also left her money.

[2] Henry, Duke of Buccleuch became fifth Duke of Queensberry; Sir Charles Douglas, Marquess of Queensberry; and Lord Wemyss, Earl of March.

Chief.[1] Ld. G. replied that he should bear in mind all H.R.H. had said, and consult with his friends upon the subject, but that he thought it an act of duty without any hesitation to state that the obstacles to the restoration of the D. of York were insurmountable; that they existed amongst those most attached to the Whig Party; that he himself deplored the injustice of persons upon that subject, and, if he might venture to use such an expression, to so exalted a character. He added that he felt the greatest *compassion* for the Duke, who had been so cruelly misrepresented and slandered. The Prince bid him communicate with Ld. Moira and his other friends. Adam told this on the day of the interview.

Ld. Grenville made a formal communication to politicians at his own house on the following Tuesday. Ld. H. had a private conversation with him in which he stated his own opinions upon the necessity, if they formed a Governt., of considering maturely the question of Spain and Portugal with regard to withdrawing the troops, &c.; also of the state of the press, which was under Ld. Ellenboro' greatly harassed.

On Wednesday night Ld. Grey arrived in town; he came here in evening, appointed on the ensuing day to go to Carlton House. Prince very gracious, cordial, and more communicative than with Ld. Grenville. Upon mention of additional strength in House of Commons, Grey remonstrated upon the fallacy of strength being obtained by the accession alluded to (Canning), where sturdy old friends would be lost entirely. Prince observed the clamour excited by Grenville's resistance as Auditor to the issuing money from the Exchequer, conceived it fatal to his being attached to the Treasury; folly of his letter to Perceval. They separated most

[1] The Duke of York had been compelled to resign this post in 1809, owing to the scandalous charges brought against him by Mrs. Clarke.

amicably. Ld. Grey went directly to frame a reply for P. to the deputation which was next day to offer, from the two Houses, the Regency. Informed the Prince, if their paper did not meet his wishes, that he dined at Ld. Holland's in Pall Mall, where he should remain to receive H.R.H. commands. We had only Ld. Thanet and Tierney, Ld. H. confined by the gout. At twelve at night, Adam, accompanied by Sheridan, came from C. H., bearing a message from the P., which in plain language was a total rejection of the paper drawn up by Lds. Grey and Grenville, and sending them another, the joint composition of himself and S. Ld. Grey with great moderation and temper declined giving any opinion upon the subject, his own being rejected; said they could not be responsible for sentiments they had not written. Sheridan, who had thrust himself into the whole transaction, protested against their responsibility, alleging that the Prince was not himself in a condition to invest persons with responsibility, that he had drawn a paper, and Ld. Moira had done the same. After Ld. Grey went away, such a scene of duplicity and jealousy was exhibited by S. beyond all belief or description; it required all Adam's forbearance and good temper to prevent great asperity in the discussion. Ld. H. contended for the responsibility, considering the sending for these Lords as an open act similar to that of a King upon his accession employing a certain set of persons to answer the address from the Privy Council, as his future Ministers.

They went off to C. H. at two o'clock. By Adam's report, S.'s description of what had passed here was a most gross misrepresentation, and a malicious interpretation of every word uttered. They all parted in wrath; the P. determining to keep what S. made him believe was his own, whereas in fact it was S.'s. This is one of his

artifices by which he ensnares the P., first suggesting ideas and words, which he dexterously contrives to make the P. believe are his own. (He avowed this to us some months ago.[1]) Some of Sheridan's phrases were very bad. The Prince was to say in a taunting manner that he hoped the authority he was to be invested with would be as *brief* as it was *restricted*, showing a silly soreness towards the Parliament. On Friday the deputation came; and the paper composed by S. and the Prince was delivered. Grey and Grenville upon the rejection of their paper drew up a remonstrance glancing at secret advisers, which they delivered to Adam to give to the Prince. In the meantime the P. expressed a wish to explain to Ld. H. the whole transaction, and fixed calling upon him on Saturday. By a mistake of Ld. Moira's, Ld. H. waited for him, as he ought to have told him that the P. could not come till this day, Sunday, 13th Jan., 1811, Pall Mall.

The interview was long; only Mr. Adam present. Authorised an explanation to the two Lords, that he did not conceive his application to them could as *yet* be considered as official. Consequently they were not in any responsible situation; that they proceeded upon a misconception.

Sunday, 20th.—A very *stormy* week, but down to this evening the political horizon brightens. When the two Lords began to discuss arrangements the difficulties seemed insurmountable. Ld. Grey reminded Lord Grenville of the conversation they had formerly had together upon the subject of the impossibility of his holding his place of Auditor of the Exchequer with that of the First Ld. of the Treasury. Ld. Grenville alleged *poverty*, proposed that Tom,[2] who *par parenthèse*, has been voluntarily out of Parlt. these three years, should have the Admiralty

[1] See *Further Memoirs of the Whig Party*, p. 39.

[2] Grenville.

and the first peerage. Upon the obstacle of the Auditorship being strongly re-argued, a singular paper was delivered in to Grey, in which statements were made of the condition of the First Lords for the preceding 40 years, all of whom had enjoyed large places with the Treasury; stating his own difficulties of undertaking such an expensive station with the mere addition of 1000*l.* pr. ann.; that he should be overwhelmed with debt. That he could not consent to take the Home Department without an express and distinct understanding that *all* the Patronage of *Church* and *State* which had hitherto gone through the First Ld. of Treasury, should be annexed to the Home Department. That the Minutes of Cabinet should be drawn up by Ld. G. and laid before the Regent or King; that he could not yield his pre-eminence; and rather an arrogant and flourishing termination. The whole composition evinced a sordid and low mind. Scarcely had it been sent, before Ld. Auckland was dispatched to recover it. Ld. Grey hesitated, because if a rupture became inevitable, it was such a complete acquittal of himself.

By-the-bye, I forgot to mention that the *first* hitch arose from a proposal on the part of Lord Grenville that, from the state of the H. of Commons they ought to look about them for *strength*, that the lists were not satisfactory, and that they could not be sure of majorities. The plain English of this was that they wanted an organ of their own, Canning for instance, as a barrier against the popular principles of the Whigs and the unpopular and odious manners of Whitbread, whom unfortunately all parties concur in hating, however they may respect him as a public character. Ld. Grey replied that upon consulting his own friends, he was satisfied that the numbers were such as to enable a Govt. to go on well, that by taking Mr. C. weight would be lost,

not gained; for the gain would be 10 votes, and the loss of three times that number of real, staunch friends. That upon the mere report of such a junction already Mr. Coke declared his first vote under the new Govern't. should be against them, if Mr. C. composed one of the Govt.; also that Messrs. Byng, Brand, &c., were of the same opinion, Ld. J. Cavendish, and most of the old Foxites.

Ld. Grenville seemed thunderstruck at Grey's urging that if a motion was made by the enemy against the union of the offices of Treasurer and Auditor, it would be impossible to prevent many of their own friends from voting against them. In the evening Ld. G. wrote to Grey to say that the point in discussion could not be canvassed by them in conversation. Proposed by Grey that Ld. Spencer should be First Lord of Treasury; Grenvilles all eager to declare that he had entirely withdrawn from public life. Various other modes suggested, such as Ld. Grenville's placing the Auditorship in trust and not receiving the salary whilst he enjoyed the Treasury. On the 16th matters seemed in a state of complete disunion, and the differences between the two Lords began to be talked of in public. In stating the friends with whom Ld. Grenville said he should consult before he came to a final determination, he mentioned Lords Stafford and Carrington. He now talked of giving up all idea of forming an Administration, and recommending the Prince to keep the present Ministers; but Ld. Grey will not agree, as in his opinion it is a scandalous desertion of the Prince. Tom Grenville has begged Grey not to be offended at any dryness and formality in the style of Ld. Grenville's letters, as official habits early in life make all he writes upon topics of business seem as dry as a chip. In conversation it had been thrown out that the Treasury stripped and degraded would not be fit for Ld. Grey to accept, but that

George Ponsonby or Lord Lansdowne might do the duties of it; but this was not listened to, it being impossible, notwithstanding all Lord Grenville said of the present salary, patronage, and influence of the Treasury being a usurpation upon the patronage of the Home Department, to consent to such a glaring alteration as to reduce that which had been hitherto considered as the first office in the State to as low a condition even as a mere Lord of the Treasury. From Lord Temple's language, which is violent and indiscreet, and from Tom's, which tho' milder and more guarded betrays much soreness, it is clear that it is not the numbers of the H. of Commons which induced them to urge a junction with Mr. Canning, but that they felt they had no man of their *own*, and could not submit to be represented by such persons as Whitbread, &c.

However, at present (21st) all stands well again. On 18th Ld. Grenville with great good humour has given up his schemes of advancement (?), and is content to take the Treasury, yielding all the other offices to Ld. Grey's nomination, excepting the Secretary at War for Ld. Temple, and the Board of Control, with a seat in Cabinet!! for Ld. Auckland; and with respect to the Auditorship, he offered to put it into trust, but could not afford to give up the salary, and all he required was that Whitbread should acquiesce in the arrangement and defend it, were it to be attacked in Parlt. This proposal was submitted to Whitbread, and strongly urged by Lds. Grey and Holland, but he could not be brought to agree, tho' he acknowledged that in principle he had no objection to the Auditorship being vested in trust whilst Ld. G. held the Treasury. He admitted that so far from thinking that 4000*l.* a year was too great an addition to the present salary of the Treasury, that he was ready to propose in the House of Commons that the salary of that

and of every high office should be raised to 10,000*l.* pr. ann., but he could not defend his holding the two offices. He grounds his objection upon a foolish piece of personal vanity, having last year demanded, in an imperative tone, of Perceval whether Yorke received his salary of Teller of Exchequer during his enjoyment of the emoluments of First Lord of Admiralty, and having, as he thought, intimidated them from it as he was answered in the negative, he could not bring himself to defend what he had by his tone reprobated in public. He was very obstinate in his manner, and gave a specimen of his want of conciliating disposition for hereafter, tho' in this instance he was not so much in the wrong, as he had been assured in the beginning of the arrangements that Ld. G. would give it up. Whitbread continued inflexible, and on the 19th Ld. Grey wrote a very handsome letter to Lord Grenville's proposal, in which he stated Whitbread's unwillingness to defend the measure, expressing his own sincere regret at W.'s resolution, adding that he could not bring himself to act with Mr. Canning, and therefore nothing remained for him but to abandon all thoughts of taking part in the Govt., leaving Ld. G. at liberty to form whatever Administration he chose, which he was ready to engage he should not oppose, tho' he could not assist. Ld. Grenville was hurt at Whitbread's conduct. On 20th, in morning, Ld. Grenville consented to give up the salary of Auditor during his being at the head of Treasury. They were to go on the following day to the Prince, which is the day appointed for their answer.

21*st Jan.*—The paper they delivered to the Prince was to inform him that they were ready to undertake the Govt., but advising him before he undertakes the Regency to institute an examination of physicians as to the state of the King's health, and if the result should be that it is probable that the King would be so far

recovered within any limited time so as to be able to resume the exercise of the royal functions, in that case they advise him not to change the Ministers, giving them such an explanation of his motives for retaining them as would prevent him from being justly considered as approving, much less as adopting, the system of their policy. The whole was a very vague, loose way of expressing themselves.

On Tuesday the Prince sent for them again, and showed a letter he had received from the Queen (Mr. Adam would not allow me to take a copy). 'My dearest son, you will be, I am sure, highly gratified to hear that the King is considerably improved in health; he had an interview this morning with Mr. Perceval, who was much satisfied with his whole appearance. He held a very reasonable conversation, and inquired with great interest all that had been done, and expressed himself with kindness towards you, and said he was pleased with yr. conduct *pending this business*. I send my own servant that there may be no delay in yr. receiving this agreeable information. (Signed) Charlotte.'

The Prince ridiculed the artifice, which was too gross to escape detection. What woman, he said, ever used the Westminster Hall term of *pending the business?* They thought him shook and little disposed to encounter the clamour of a change. He showed them a letter from Perceval in which he represented the state of public business as pressing. The Prince begged them to write the answer, which was done off-hand.

On withdrawing they agreed to assemble a meeting of their future Cabinet to take the business into consideration, and on Thursday, 31st Jan., they met both morning and evening. It was agreed that they should, in consequence of the representation in Perceval's letter of the state of the army and navy and the progress of

private Bills (which he artfully had pressed on), communicate to the Prince that it would be subjecting the country to very material injury if he delayed 48 hours longer the bringing his mind to a determination, either of changing the Ministry, or retaining those now in their offices. In the meantime Sr. Henry Halford (Dr. Vaughan), who had been suspected of meddling more with the body politic than with the diseased physical body he was called in to attend, had frequent audiences of the Prince, in which he worked upon his imagination and fears by drawing the picture of the King agitated and thrown into an exa—tion [*sic*] which might end fatally; their removing his confidential servants would inevitably produce that effect. It is also suspected that he added if the King recovered and found things stationary he would not reassume the authority, and that the Prince might continue in power. There are besides a hundred little anecdotes, which by not writing at the time have escaped my memory. There was also a letter from the D. of Cumberland, who said, '*Vaughan has behaved nobly to us all.*'

The Prince was very much agitated, and on Friday he saw Adam, Lds. Moira and Hutchinson, to whom he stated the distracted state of his mind, and bid them do justice to his feelings. In the evening he sent Adam and Ld. Hutchinson to Camelford House, by appointment to Lds. G. and G., intimating that in consequence of the report of the physicians as to the probable recovery of the King, he had resolved not to remove the Ministers, hoped they approved, thanked them for their generous conduct, and begged to see them on the following Sunday, and also Ld. Holland, Mr. G. Ponsonby.

October, 1811.—Sudden return of Ld. Wm. Bentinck[1]

[1] Lord William Cavendish Bentinck (1774–1839), second son of William Henry, third Duke of Portland, who saw much service in

from Sicily for further instructions, after an absence of only a few weeks, has surprised people, and convinced them of his want of capacity and timidity of character. It is understood that his instructions were merely an echo of those given to his predecessor, Lord Amherst, the substance of which was to induce the Court by moderate means to admit the native Sicilians into the Governt., and to diminish the burthens upon the people, and various other points of importance. Ld. Wm. is accused of having very unskilfully in his first paper to Circello betrayed the whole context of his secret instructions; whereupon its not appearing that Ld. Wm. had the power of withholding the subsidy Circello made a most able diplomatic reply, deprecating the interference of any foreign power, however allied, with the internal Governt., and giving it plainly to be understood that *allies* who acted thus might withdraw their forces. Upon the receipt of this, Ld. Wm., without further discussion, got on board the first vessel, which happened to be Capt. Clifford, of the *Cephalus*, gun brig, and came home. It is said Ministers were astonished, but declared everywhere that they were highly pleased at his conduct. As that is *impossible*, the glossing it over must be out of compliment to the D. of Portland. The report is that the Cabinet have resolved upon vigorous measures, and those who know the Queen believe she will not resist, but in case of her being so disposed, she is to be made to submit, and a retreat into Austria suggested as her best

various parts of the world and rose to the rank of major-general in 1808. He was appointed Envoy and Commander-in-Chief in Sicily in 1811, and for three years was practically governor of the island. His sudden departure, after a stay of only ten days, had the desired effect of alarming the Sicilian Court, which became much more amenable, after his return, to the reforms he proposed to introduce. The King was notoriously incapable of reigning, and the power was in the hands of the Queen, who detested the English, and was intriguing with the French.

resource. The unfortunate Barons who were imprisoned in consequence of their appeal,[1] are left in severe confinement, and Prince Belmonte, who is in a precarious state of health, will certainly not survive the confinement in one of the worst dungeons, and in the most unwholesome spot in the Island. The idle English, by their silly language in the coffee houses have contributed much towards irritating the Queen. Fredk. Lamb[2] is at last to accompany Ld. Wm.

The Commissioners to Mexico are to begin their peregrinations in about 3 weeks ; it is a trading voyage. Capt. Cockburn,[3] who is one and is to have the rank of Commodore and a flag, goes first to Lisbon to pick up Mr. Stewart ; then to Cadiz for the Spaniards ; to Jamaica for Mr. Morier ; and finally to Vera Cruz. From what is said, the expedition seems to be rather a wild goose chase. It is not certain that the Spanish Governt. will accept the offered mediation. When it was originally proposed, they accepted, annexing the condition that if the colonies did not within 15 months fall into their allegiance to the Mother Country, that in that case the English should assist with military force and compel them to submit by subduing them. This condition has not been acceded to on the part of this Governt., but they send out this Commission, without waiting for the final determination of the Govt. of Cadiz, now they know that they are only

[1] They were imprisoned for a protest against the illegal taxation which was being enforced by the Court, but were released and recalled in January 1812.

[2] Hon. Frederick James Lamb (1782–1853), who was created Lord Beauvale in 1839, and succeeded his brother as third and last Viscount Melbourne in 1848.

[3] Afterwards Admiral Sir George Cockburn (1772–1853). He took Napoleon to St. Helena in 1815, and remained there for a year as Governor until relieved by Sir Hudson Lowe.

The Commission was to attempt to mediate between Spain and her American Colonies. The Cortes, however, proved intractable, and the expedition returned to England in August 1812.

to be supported in any pacific measures. The man upon whom much depends is Bardachi, a sort of Secretary of State, who, with some abilities and honesty, is full of prejudice against this country, and of an impracticable temper. B. Hoppner is Sec. to the Commission. Frere, who has been living here upwards of a month, to my astonishment expressed himself surprised and offended that he had been neglected by Ld. Wellesley, saying that from his knowledge of Spain he considered himself as the fittest to be employed; boasted of his influence over Bardachi, who owes his place to him, and various other such *absurdities*. I was petrified, it not being possible to acquiesce in the reasonableness of his complaint, or consider it as an injury the not selecting him.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The following lines are taken from Lord Holland's verses 'To a lady on her Birthday, Florence, March 25, 1795.' [1]

When twice twelve times the rolling earth
Brought back the period of her birth,
Thus to the Genius of the day
A certain Dame was heard to pray:
'Give me, indulgent Genius, give
'Midst learned cabinets to live,
'Midst curiosities, collections,
Specimens, medals, and dissections,
With books of every tongue and land
All difficult to understand,
With instruments of various sorts,
Telescopes, air pumps, tubes, retorts,
With friends, fair wisdom to pursue,
Fontana, Macie, Blagden, Drew.'

. . . . .

Such are thy wishes, but if kind
The Gods, and of a mortal's mind,
These sacrifices they will spare,
And long preserve you what you are;
And when obdurate time besprinkles
Your head with grey, your face with wrinkles,
When sickness and when age shall come
And wither transient beauty's bloom,
Still shall the beauties of your mind,
By reading and by time refin'd,
Still shall thy wit and polish'd ease
In spite of fickle nature please;

[1] *See ante*, i. 130.

And then th' enchanted world shall see
Rochefoucauld's laws belied in thee,
See female merit youth outlive,
And loveliness thy charms survive.
So when old Time's relentless page
At full threescore shall mark thy age,
With equal truth but better verse
Some Bard thy merits shall rehearse,
And like myself be proud to pay
A tribute to this happy day.

Thirty-six years afterwards, on March 25, 1831, Lord Holland gave his wife another copy of verses, and the reader will probably be interested in seeing a short selection from them.

I promised you, 'tis long ago,
Some six and thirty years or so,
Another Bard your praise should sing
When you had reached your sixtieth Spring.
That sixtieth spring has come—to you,
My Dearest Soul, the verse is due.
Nor ever thine more fit t'inspire
The heart's delight, the Poet's fire,
Than Charms, unfading Charms, like yours,
Than merit which the test endures
Of health and sickness, smiles and tears,
And all that chequers lengthened years.
Nor will you frown, tho' my prediction
In one sole point turn out a fiction,
And this so late reviving lay
Raised to record your natal day
Prove no strange minstrel's ode or hymn,
But the unaltered vows of him,
Whose earliest and whose last emotion
Has been and must be warm devotion
To all the Charms he sees combined
In thy dear frame and lovely Mind.

. . . . . .

I write not, I, for prize or fame,
Nor bays nor triumph is my aim ;

To you, My Love, my strains belong,
To you I dedicate my song :
And all my hope and all my due
Is one kind happy smile from You.
Content if on this blessed day
My simple rugged lines convey
One truth, which be it verse or prose,
From my heart's heart sincerely flows :
'I loved you much at twenty-four,
I love you better at threescore.'

APPENDIX B

The following letters from Mr. Campbell to Lord Holland, referring to the first meeting of the Cortes at Cadiz, have been considered of sufficient interest for publication.

Mr. R. Campbell to Lord Holland.

Cadiz, Sept. 26th, 1810.

My Lord,—I am just returned from the Isle of Leon where I had been to witness the opening of the Cortes, and am favoured with your Lordship's letter of the 6th inst; the packet has orders to sail immediately upon receiving Mr. Wellesley's despatches, which I am informed will be ready in less than an hour, so that I have only time to give your Lordship a very short and imperfect account of what has hitherto passed in the Cortes; such, however, as it is, I have no doubt but it will be interesting to your Lordship.

The Cortes met, agreeably to the summons of convocation, in the Isle of Leon, on the 24th inst, and having taken the usual oaths, administered to them in an adjoining church by the Bishop of Orense, President of the Regency, they repaired in a Body to the *Theatre* which had been fitted up for their reception, as the most convenient for *them* and the best adapted for the accommodation of the *public* of any place that could be selected in the Island. They were accompanied by a great concourse of people of all ranks, shouting, 'Viva España, viva la nacion, y vivan los Padres de la Patria.' After they were installed, the Regency who had accompanied them gave an account of their administration and made a formal demission of their authority in the hands of the Cortes, and then withdrew.

I was not present during the whole of the sitting, which continued till 5 *o'clock* in the morning, but the following is, I believe, a pretty correct account of the most important Decrees which were passed, some of which you will allow to be of *great importance indeed*, viz. :—

The *sovereignty* of the nation, now assembled in Cortes. The legislative power vested in them. The inviolability of the persons of the deputies. All the cessions made in Bayonne declared to be null and void, not only on account of the violence employed in obtaining them, but *chiefly* for having been made without the consent and contrary to the will of the Spanish nation so strongly pronounced. Ferdinand VII. declared to be King of Spain and the Indies. (The motion was, King and *Sovereign*, but the word *Sovereign* was rejected.)

The late Regency, for the present (*interinamente*) to exercise the executive power ; they and the Ministers to be responsible to the Cortes for their conduct in the administration of public affairs and to grant no offices which were not absolutely and indispensably necessary in the actual circumstances of the nation.

The Regency to take the usual oaths to the Cortes (which they did on the same evening).

The Regency not to remove more than one league from the place where the Cortes shall be sitting.

All officers, civil, military, and judiciary, confirmed in their appointments. The judiciary to confine themselves *strictly* to their *judicial* capacities.

Everything was conducted with a greater degree of decorum than could have been expected, all circumstances considered. Your Lordship will be of opinion that it was a spectacle highly interesting to see a body of men thus suddenly assembled and unaccustomed to public business, discussing objects of the greatest magnitude with calmness and dignity and with as much confidence that they were laying the foundations of the independence, liberty, and happiness of their country as if there was not a Frenchman on this side of the Pyrenees, tho' they were then deliberating with a French army in sight and almost within reach of their batteries.

I have the strongest hopes that the meeting of the Cortes will produce the most favourable effects. It cannot fail to rouse every dormant energy of the nation ; *here* the enthusiasm is universal, and I am not afraid of its running into any of those horrible excesses which disgraced the French Revolution. The elections have fallen upon persons distinguished

for talents, probity, and patriotism ; this I know to be the case with respect to those deputies which have been chosen here, and I have reason to believe that it is *generally* so. There is but one Grandee in the Cortes—Villafranca—who was chosen by the *Ayuntamiento* of Murcia. Infantado would have been chosen by the Emigrants from Madrid here. He had the greatest number of suffrages ; but being only one of three, who were balloted for agreeably to the mode of election prescribed by the enclosed paper, the lot fell upon a *Relator* of the Council of Castile, a very able and upright lawyer.

A commission, or rather committee, was appointed yesterday to draw up a plan of the forms by which their future proceedings were to be regulated. We expect that a decree will be passed in a few days establishing the liberty of the press ; the plan of it, I have reason to think, is now preparing. We expect likewise that a journal of the proceedings and debates of the Cortes will be published daily, and this, I hope, will be circulated, in thousands, all over the country occupied by the enemy, by means of the *guerrillas* which are every day increasing in number, force, and audacity. I saw yesterday a respectable person who was in Madrid when the *Empecinado* attacked the *Casa de campo*, and when Joseph and his suite fled in confusion and dismay from the playhouse. Very few of the French cabinet couriers escape the vigilance and boldness of the *guerrillas*. Another intercepted mail has just arrived here containing correspondence of a very interesting nature ; it will be soon published.

The Cortes will probably remove their sittings in a short time to Cadiz, where they will assemble in the church of St. Phelipe Neri, the place in Cadiz best adapted for the purpose. As it is not a parish church it will be ceded without difficulty by the confraternity to which it belongs. Your Lordship may remember that it is a handsome *rotundo* of modern architecture, with capacious galleries. Above the altar of the principal chapel there is a celebrated 'Conception' of *Murillo* ; I mention this circumstance to assist your memory in recollecting the place.

I enclose a very well written address to the deputies of the Cortes which was published here three days before they

met; the author, tho' the initials of the name were not subjoined, your Lordship would readily know to be Quintana. He has not been elected for the Cortes. Capmany is one of the deputies for Catalonia.

The last decree of the *Junta Central* which you had the goodness to send me was not suppressed by their successors; it was circulated here in manuscript. I read it a few days after it was passed: it was not printed and published, but its not being so did not, in my opinion, arise from any improper motive. The truth is that the *Junta Central* were and still are held in such universal abhorrence that anything coming from them, were it ever so good in itself, would have been ill received by the public. The only member of that body to whom no public odium has attached is your friend Jovellanos. He has retired to some corner in Asturias; it was reported some weeks ago that he had been named deputy to the Cortes from some parts of that province, and the intelligence gave great and general satisfaction. Garay and a few others are still here, but seldom appear in public. Valdes is in Gibraltar. Tilly and Calvo close prisoners in the Castle of St. Sebastian. Villel in Catalonia, and the rest I know not where. Riquelme, who, to avoid the effects of the popular indignation, had taken refuge on board a Spanish frigate commanded by Dn. Raphael Lobo, was the only person killed by the fire of the French batteries on the Trocadero when the frigate, having been driven from her anchors during a violent storm, grounded within reach of the French batteries and was at last set on fire by red hot shot.

I enclose a number of the *Conciso* (a new paper published here) which has just come from the press; the account which it gives of the proceedings in the Cortes differs very little from what I have written above.

The assembly of the Cortes, tho' late, is a most fortunate circumstance; it affords the only hope of saving the nation. The single circumstance of the Regency having been appointed by the *Junta Central*, would for ever have prevented them from obtaining the confidence of the public.

I beg to offer my best respects to Lady Holland and Mr. Allen, and have the honour to be, &c.

R. Campbell.

P.S.—Though the Cortes in a body are to have the *tratamiento of Majesty*, the individual members are to have no *tratamiento* nor any badge of distinction as members of Cortes. When the Regency took the oaths to the Cortes on the evening of the 24th, the Bishop of Orense did not come, saying he was fatigued and much indisposed, and he has since declined to take the oaths from some *scruple of conscience*, of what nature we do not know. The Cortes were sitting yesterday in a secret committee of the whole, deliberating upon a communication from the Regency.

Mr. R. Campbell to Lord Holland.

Cadiz, Dec. 10, 1810.

My Lord,—Being much hurried at present I must refer your Lordship to the public reports for an account of the further proceedings of the Cortes and of the events which have lately taken place in this country. I shall only say in general that we are still full of confidence. A measure, which I have taken the liberty of strongly recommending to some of my friends among the deputies, will probably be moved in the Cortes this day or to-morrow. It is to pass a decree making it a fundamental law of the state that any King of Spain or Prince of the blood royal who shall marry a *foreigner* without the consent of the Cortes, shall by that act forfeit his title to the crown. The subject of this decree, independent of its general policy, is immediately to anticipate any new trick or stratagem which Bonaparte may probably devise, should the campaign in Portugal prove, as we hope, signally disastrous to his arms, by marrying Ferdinand to a Frenchwoman or an Austrian, and bringing him to Spain as King, in order to create new factions and disunion. This law will probably be proposed by Arguelles, and I have little doubt will pass.

Your Lordship will perceive from this that we are at present more afraid of the artifices than of the arms of Napoleon.

Some discussion will likewise soon take place in the Cortes with respect to the assumption of the title of *Majesty* by them; a measure which, I was aware, would be liable to much misconstruction in England. I shall write your Lordship more fully on this and some other subjects by

next packet ; in the mean time, your Lordship may be assured that there was no intention, by the assumption of this title, to degrade the royal authority.

I beg leave to offer my best respects to Lady Holland and Mr. Allen, and have the honour to be, &c.

R. CAMPBELL.

Mr. R. Campbell to Lord Holland.

Cadiz, Dec. 20th, 1810.

MY LORD,—The decree which I mentioned in my last letter with respect to the marriage of the Princes of the Spanish Blood Royal was actually proposed by Capmany, and discussed on the 10th. Capmany's motion was that no King of Spain or Prince of the blood royal should contract matrimony with *any person whatever*, without the consent of the Cortes lawfully assembled ; this is more general and, as a fundamental Law of the State, more consistent, perhaps, with sound policy, than the decree to which I alluded. The motion was referred to the committee on the constitution, and I hope they will lose no time in deciding upon it.

Such had been the shameful intriguing and trafficking for places and pensions, for titles and ribands and crosses and promotions in the army and navy, frequently conferred upon the most worthless individuals, during the government of the Central Junta and of the late Regency, that the *self-denying* decree appears to me to have been absolutely necessary to give the Cortes that degree of public confidence and popularity which alone could render their labours of any benefit to the nation.

With respect to the title of Majesty, I am convinced that, in assuming it, the Cortes had no intention to degrade the royal dignity and that no democratic views lurk under this measure. Your Lordship will be pleased to consider the very peculiar circumstances under which they met. The nation was *then* for the first time in the history of the Monarchy represented by deputies that had the least shadow of a claim to fair or legitimate election ; they had to give to their country what it never possessed before—a *Constitution*, by which the hitherto despotic power of the King should be limited, and which should be binding on him as well as

on the people. They had to prescribe to him the conditions upon which the Spanish nation were willing that he should continue to wear the crown. It was necessary that, at the first moment of their meeting, they should make some kind of public and solemn expression of the sovereign and inherent rights of the nation, lawfully represented, to form and establish the fundamental laws of the State. The title of Majesty was therefore not assumed with levity ; its expediency was maturely considered. It was requisite that the multitude and all ranks and classes of the State should at once receive the deepest impression that the authority and dignity of the *present extraordinary* Cortes were paramount to every other ; before which all other authorities and dignities must, for the present, bend. It was necessary, therefore, that they should be addressed in the language corresponding to the high dignity of their situation—they could not otherwise have taken or maintained possession of the lofty ground upon which they now stand, especially in a country where, more than in any other, respect and authority are connected in the minds of the vulgar with title and external appearance. Besides, the title of Majesty had just been given to the *Central Junta* and to the late Regency ; and if the Cortes had not assumed the same title, it might have been considered as a public acknowledgment of inferiority in power and dignity to these two bodies. Had the Cortes taken the title of *Highness* and left that of *Majesty* with the *Regency*, how would it have sounded in the ears of a Spanish public that his *Majesty* was nominated by and responsible for his conduct to his *Highness* ? I have not heard it even insinuated that any future Cortes (or by whatever other appellation the elective representatives of the people shall be distinguished) ought to be addressed by the title of Majesty. This title, it is generally understood, when the Constitution is established, should belong to the King *alone*, as the hereditary representative of the power and Majesty of the nation.

In addition to all this, your Lordship will have observed that the title of Majesty was more general in its application in Spain than it is in England. In England it belongs exclusively to the King ; in Spain, it was likewise given to the *Camera del Consejo Real* and to the *Consejo de Guerra*. I ought to beg your Lordship's pardon for hazarding these

hasty opinions, which I submit with great sincerity to your more enlightened judgment.

A fungous growth of political pamphlets and periodical publications issue daily from the press. We have the *Conciso*, the *Tertulia*, the *Buen Español*, the political *Telescope*, and I believe the political *Microscope* and the political *Spectacles*; none of these have any merit except the *Conciso*, which gives the best diary we have yet had of the proceedings of the Cortes; but we have likewise the *Semanario*, revived by Quintana, which maintains its ancient reputation, and the *Patriot in the Cortes*, as yet chiefly distinguished for its boldness. Some numbers of these last I shall do myself the pleasure to send to your Lordship by the first good opportunity. I should have requested of Mr. Wellesley or Mr. Vaughan to take charge of any parcel or packet for you, but they reside at present in the *Isla*, whither I seldom go; and which is so crowded that I could not procure in it a house or accommodation of any kind. We are and have been in daily expectation that the Cortes will transfer their sittings to this city. The Cortes have committed and are *daily* committing a great many errors; but they are the errors of inexperience, and as they have upright intentions and are not indocile they will, I hope, soon correct such mistakes as they may inadvertently fall into, more especially when the forms are once established which are to regulate their future proceedings; and I am happy to say that this necessary regulation, the want of which has been already on many occasions severely felt, will soon take place.

I have seen exaggerated accounts in the English papers of the yellow fever which prevailed here; it was not virulent nor general, and has now, I believe, entirely vanished.

The French have at last succeeded in throwing a few nine-inch shells within our walls from their battery on the *cabezuela of the Trocadero*. One fell near the signal tower, almost in the centre of the city, and distant from the *cabezuela* about 2500 French *toises*, greater by 200 *toises* than any range of a shell formerly known. Not more than a dozen altogether fell within the walls; they fortunately did no damage and occasioned very little alarm. I am assured by Artillery officers that the charge of powder necessary to throw a shell to such a distance is so great, that after a few discharges

the mortar will be rendered entirely useless. A few shells were first fired two or three days ago, a few more the next day, and they have since been silent. We are informed that one of their mortars burst.

A general enlistment is now carrying on here and rigorously executing, of all unmarried men *without exception* from the age of 16 to 45. Men we can find in abundance, but where we can get the means of clothing, arming, and subsisting them, unless we receive very liberal aid from England, it is difficult for me to conceive ; two days ago, notwithstanding every measure of economy that has been adopted and is adopting, there was not a dollar in the treasury. The Government had applied a few weeks ago to the *Junta* of Cadiz for the loan of a million of dollars, to be repaid upon the arrival of the *Bulwark* from Vera Cruz ; this the *Junta* had the scandalous indecency to refuse, except upon the condition that the regulation and collection of the customs of the port of Cadiz should be committed exclusively to their management, with other stipulations, the effect of which would have been to erect the *Junta* into a little petty sovereignty. This proposition was rejected with indignation, and the conduct of the *Junta*, upon this occasion, has justly rendered them extremely unpopular. Yesterday morning, the Government, being absolutely without a dollar, made application to the *Consulado*, and a meeting of the most respectable merchants being called most of whom never had any concern with the *Junta*, a great many very patriotic speeches were made, the million of dollars was immediately granted, without interest or condition of any kind and to be repaid whenever it was convenient for the Government. The *Bulwark* fortunately arrived in the evening, but has not brought so much money as was expected, only a million and a half dollars for the public treasury and about two millions private property.

I am sure I must have now tired your Lordship completely with this long and uninteresting letter, to which I shall here put a close, and have the honour to be most truly,

Your most obedt. Servt.

R. CAMPBELL.

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